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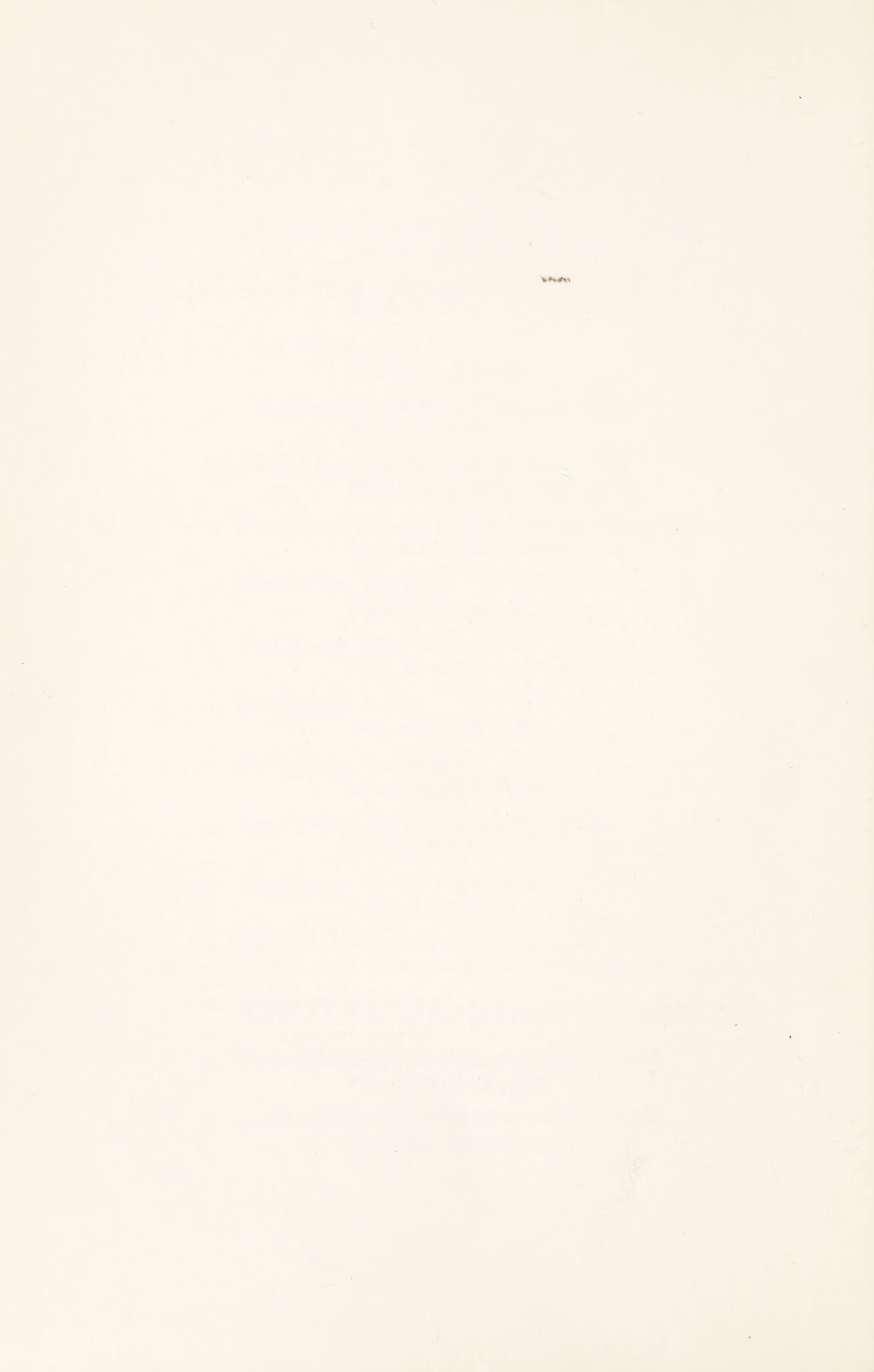
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MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

*These lectures are delivered annually at
Oberlin College
on a foundation established in honor of
Charles Beebe Martin*



ANCIENT BOOK ILLUMINATION

MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES
VOLUME XVI

BY
Kurt Weitzmann

*Published for Oberlin College and
the Department of Art & Archaeology of Princeton University
by*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Massachusetts

1959

© 1959 by the Board of Trustees of Oberlin College

Distributed in Great Britain by Oxford University Press, London

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 59-7664

Manufactured in the United States of America

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THE MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES

VOLUME XVI

The Martin Foundation, on which these lectures are delivered, was established by his many friends in honor of Charles Beebe Martin, for forty-five years a teacher of classical literature and classical art in Oberlin College.

PREFACE

Any study of the origin of Christian book illumination and especially of the illustration of the Bible will inevitably lead to an investigation of illustrated books in classical antiquity and to an attempt to reconstruct them with all available means in order to define their impact on early Christian book art. Ever since I began to work on these problems, more than twenty years ago, it has been my intention, first to prove the existence of ancient book illumination as such and to discuss its formal and iconographical aspects in principle — as has been done in the meantime in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* — and, second, to supplement this methodological study by a historical one demonstrating to what extent various branches of ancient literature had been adorned with illustrations. However, over the years the material for such a historical study has so vastly increased that a full documentation of a history of ancient book illumination would now require at least four volumes.

The invitation of Oberlin College to deliver the Martin Lecture Series provided, therefore, a welcome opportunity to present, in the form of a sketch, an outline of classical book illumination in four chapters, each of which may be considered as a prolegomenon to what is hoped will eventually lead to a fuller treatment. If, at this time, the sketch helps to stimulate an interest in a promising field of study, it will have served its purpose.

It may sound presumptuous to speak of a neglected chapter in classical archaeology. Yet, if classical book illumination not only existed but played as vital a role as I believe, there must be a reason for this neglect; an explanation should be offered as to how and why this subject, in spite of some successful writings on it, has not received from archaeologists and art his-

torians the full attention it deserves. The main reason is, of course, the almost nonexistence of primary material.

This is mainly due to the perishableness of papyrus, the almost exclusive medium on which texts were written and illustrated up to the period when, in the late classical and early Christian periods, the more durable parchment finally replaced papyrus after both media had existed side by side since the end of the first century A.D. Only a few papyrus fragments with illustrations have been found, and all of them fairly recently. This material has been considered to be the province of papyrologists.

The second and much richer body of evidence is made up of those medieval manuscripts which assuredly are copies of lost classical prototypes. They are the province of medievalists, and even within medieval art, no other group of monuments is so incompletely published as illustrated manuscripts.

The third body of evidence is composed of the classical monuments themselves as far as they are believed to be dependent on illustrated books. Scholars like Otto John and Carl Robert were the first, on the basis of relief plaques, sarcophagi, and related monuments, to postulate the existence of illustrated rolls. But in their time, not a single illustrated papyrus fragment had as yet been published, and only few of the medieval manuscripts.

Obviously, any attempt to outline — no matter how sketchily — the history of classical book illumination must, therefore, rest on a synthesis of the results of papyrology, classical archaeology, classical philology, and medieval studies, Byzantine as well as Western. The reader must be reminded that this is only a sketch in which a concentration on those texts seemed advisable which in classical antiquity must have played the most important role and for which the evidence is the richest. Moreover, in dealing with problems which have already been worked out in detail, I have been as brief as possible, referring the reader to the pertinent bibliography, while, in cases where new and hitherto un-

PREFACE

published evidence is presented, I have tried to be somewhat more explicit.

I wish to express my deep appreciation of the honor of having been asked to deliver the Charles Beebe Martin Lecture Series, and to extend my sincere thanks to all who have made my visit to Oberlin agreeable in every possible way, foremost among whom are Professor Charles T. Murphy of the Classics Department and Professors Edward Capps, Jr., and Wolfgang Stechow of the Art Department.

K. W.



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ANCIENT BOOK
ILLUMINATION



INTRODUCTION

BOOK illumination was invented in order to improve the understanding of a piece of writing by adding diagrams in scientific treatises and scenic illustrations in literary texts. It is a visual aid by means of which a reader will be helped to remember certain details or whole situations described in words, and in many cases the pictures are responsible for an increased popularity of a given text. Illustrations are physically bound to the text whose content the illustrator wants to clarify by pictorial means, and their understanding, therefore, depends on a clear comprehension of this relationship to the written word.

The desire to illustrate is almost as old as that to write, and for both arts the Egyptians were the first to use the form of scrolls made of papyrus. This material grows only in Egypt and here writing and illustrating was done on a large scale in well-organized scriptoria, beginning with the Middle Kingdom.¹ By far the majority of illustrated Egyptian papyrus rolls are *Books of the Dead* which were deposited in tombs and therefore escaped destruction.² Yet there are a few fragments that indicate that the Egyptians also had a rich and diversified scientific and belletristic literature which is almost entirely lost because of the perishableness of papyrus outside of sealed tombs.³

A good deal of this Egyptian literature must have become known to the Greeks after the foundation of Alexandria in the late fourth century B.C. In this metropolitan city the Greeks strove to continue the Egyptian tradition of book production, and they established great scriptoria of their own for the production of Greek literature in connection with the world-famous library which had amassed more than half a million

volumes by the time of Julius Caesar when it burned.⁴ Of course the Greeks had written their classics on papyrus rolls long before Alexander's conquest, and the import of papyrus from Egypt quite likely goes back to the seventh century B.C., when Naucratis was founded in Egypt as a settlement for Greek mercenaries under King Psammetichus I. This event may very well have something to do with providing the Greeks with the first chance to write down the Homeric poems in their entirety on papyrus rolls.⁵ Yet, in Greece, in the time of Pericles, papyrus was still comparatively rare⁶ and the conditions were not conducive to large-scale illustration of books.

The illustration of a text, then and now, begins only after it has become sufficiently popular and widespread. Such favorable conditions arose within Greek civilization for the first time in Hellenistic Alexandria. Here the Greeks adapted and for centuries continued the Egyptian tradition of writing and illustrating their literature in form of papyrus rolls that were mass produced in big and well-organized scriptoria. But, then, at the end of the first century A.D., a great revolution took place in the manufacturing of books: the papyrus roll was gradually replaced by the codex with parchment leaves⁷ — a revolution surpassed in far-reaching consequences only by the invention of the printing press by Gutenberg in the fifteenth century. Many features of the old papyrus roll continued in the codex for centuries with very few changes. Thanks to this conservatism we can learn a great deal about the illustration of ancient rolls from good and faithful late classical and even medieval codices. Therefore a major part of the material we are going to use for demonstration consists of medieval manuscripts.⁸

Moreover, there are two other sources to be exploited, one being the papyrus fragments themselves of which, unfortunately, lamentably few bearing illustrations have survived. Besides, most of these scanty fragments have become known only fairly recently and have not yet been sufficiently integrated into the history of ancient painting in general. These being the primary

INTRODUCTION

material, every scrap of them will be used as far as they help in rounding out the history of ancient book illumination.⁹ It must, however, be admitted that in most cases their great documentary importance far outweighs their generally low artistic value, although there are a few exceptions of higher quality.

The other source for the reconstruction of ancient book illumination is found in the reflections in other media of contemporary art. One of the main aims of this study is to demonstrate that picture cycles in books became the storehouse of narrative art for fresco painters and artists working in terra cotta, marble, metal, and still other media.¹⁰ They consulted and copied miniatures whenever they wanted to represent a famous episode of an epic poem or drama or romance by a sequence of scenes, and consequently these derivatives in other media will have to be used extensively for the reconstruction of ancient book illumination.¹¹

The three bodies of evidence just mentioned will come into play in different proportions. The papyrus fragments are such chance survivals that no general conclusion can be drawn with regard to the choice of texts involved. In medieval manuscripts a preponderance of "scientific" texts has survived from classical literature. This is neither accidental nor a reflection of the proportionate role they played in classical antiquity, but is explained by the continued usability of scientific texts in the Middle Ages, whereas literary texts were, at times at least, frowned upon by the Church. On the other hand, ancient artists, working in other media, were more attracted by the literary than by the scientific illustrations, so that their products in metal, terra cotta, marble, and fresco rely mostly on the illustrations of the epic poem, the drama, and the romance. Even so, whatever we shall be able to assemble on the basis of these three lines of evidence will lead to only an extremely spotty and fragmentary account of ancient book illumination, and its full history we will never be able to write. Wars, fires, and wanton destruction have caused too many irreparable losses.



I

SCIENTIFIC AND DIDACTIC TREATISES

MATHEMATICS

THE simplest form of illustration is, of course, the diagram, and there are certain scientific texts, especially in the field of mathematics, which need them so much that they cannot exist without them. Such illustrations were known already in pre-Hellenistic times and were mentioned in connection with a geometrical treatise of Hippocrates of Chios, a mathematician of the fifth century B.C.¹ The Nationalbibliothek in Vienna possesses a fragmentary papyrus roll of about two and one-half meters in length from the first century B.C.² which gives a general impression of what an illustrated papyrus roll looked like (Fig. 1). The stereometric diagrams, drawn without ruler and compass, were intercalated in the writing columns wherever the text required them. The scribe, therefore, had to disrupt the flow of writing, and leave sufficient empty space for the diagrams.³ Such a system required a close collaboration between the scribe and the illustrator who may or may not have been the same person. It would not, of course, have been worth while to deal with such simple diagrams from the artistic point of view were it not for the fact that in other texts the diagrams are elaborated beyond the point of scientific necessity.

ASTRONOMY

The oldest illustrated Greek papyrus known today is an astronomical one of the second century B.C. in the Louvre (Fig. 2).⁴ It contains instructions about the spheres that are based on propositions by a certain Eudoxus who lived in the fourth century B.C. Diagrams of the zodiac and the constellations drawn by a crude hand are strewn within the text columns in exactly the same manner as in the mathematical papyrus in Vienna, and so general is this principle of distribution that one can speak of a "papyrus style" of illustration.

However, in the Louvre papyrus the draftsman on occasion goes beyond the barest diagrammatic necessity and places in a disk representing the constellation Orion a little figure of the Egyptian god Osiris; or, in the center of a diagrammatic zodiac, a scarab as the symbol of the sun. These images clearly demonstrate the influence of Egyptian astronomical texts with which the Greek illustrator must have been acquainted and from which he copied these symbols. Here we can establish, on the basis of the pictures, a relation with the Egyptian tradition which one could not demonstrate by the text, and thus we learn that pictures can, at times, be independent supplementary evidence for the history of textual transmission. This is not the only instance of the dependence of Greek illustrators on Egyptian models, and iconographical details like these are a strong support for the thesis that Alexandria played an important role in Hellenistic book illustration.

SURVEYING

As soon as we enter the field of applied mathematics the illustrations become more complex and artistic problems arise, as, for example, in a codex from about the sixth century in the Library

of Wolfenbüttel⁵ which contains a *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, a collection of treatises by Roman land surveyors.⁶ One of these treatises entitled *De limitibus constituendis* is attributed to a certain Hyginus, who lived in the time of Trajan and is not to be confused with the mythographer of that name. Its text, which deals with the layout of colonial cities, is illustrated by pictures (Fig. 3) that are scattered throughout the writing columns in the proper places, exactly as in the papyrus rolls seen before. Thus, basically nothing has changed in the system of illustration, even after the change from papyrus roll to parchment codex.

In a network of lines, the main axes, the *decumanus* and the *kardo*, are clearly marked, and within this geometrical scheme is placed a walled city of the normal Hellenistic type. There is an obvious discrepancy between the geometrical layout and the city seen in perspective, a discrepancy easily explained by the assumption that the type of walled city designed in perspective, a familiar feature in Greco-Roman relief sculpture and frescoes,⁷ was copied from some such medium by the miniaturist. In the second picture of the same page, in contradistinction to the first, a city with square walls, inscribed *Colonia Julia*, is depicted almost in complete bird's-eye view — apparently an attempt of the illustrator to adjust, as far as possible, the perspective city prospect to the geometrical scheme, not so much for artistic but for didactic reasons so as to enhance the clarity and readableness of the picture.

MECHANICS AND ENGINEERING

The interpenetration of two viewpoints, the geometrical scheme and the perspective rendering of an object, is typical of many illustrations in scientific texts. It shows up in some technical treatises of which quite a number have survived in

medieval manuscripts, especially those of a certain Heron of Alexandria, known in the sources as the *μηχανικός*, who lived between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D. His *Mechanics* have survived only in Arabic⁸ and a thirteenth-century copy in Leiden⁹ contains among its drawings of engines those of a tackle and a pulley (Fig. 4).¹⁰ Here, for the sake of the clearest possible demonstration of the mechanism, modern perspective is, in part, sacrificed and once more a combined view has been chosen. The pegged ropes with which the tackle is fastened to the ground are not placed on a ground line, but drawn around in a kind of bird's-eye view which obviously is preferred for its greater clarity and must not be judged as an artistic shortcoming. This example, incidentally, should make us aware that for a history of ancient book illumination not only Greek and Latin, but also Arabic manuscripts will have to be investigated.¹¹

The other important problem in dealing with illustrations of scientific texts is the embellishment of diagrammatical schemes by features which are stimulated by outside influences and in many cases turn out to be later additions. This point can be demonstrated by examples that touch upon various fields of science.

One group of engineering treatises which remained popular throughout the Byzantine period by reason of their practical usability is that known under the collective title of *Poliorcetica*,¹² that is, treatises dealing with war engines. Their illustrations can easily be classified in two categories. One comprises the construction drawings like that in Heron's treatise on the *χειροβάλιστρα*¹³ from an eleventh-century Vatican codex¹⁴ which depicts a military engine for hurling missiles (Fig. 5) drawn in a schematic manner with reference letters. Basically such a drawing would still satisfy the requirement of illustration in modern handbooks of engineering.

The second category shows the finished engine put into opera-

tion — as may be seen in an illustration to another treatise of the same Vatican codex (Fig. 6) by a certain Athenaeus, who probably lived in the second century B.C.,¹⁵ a treatise that deals especially with siege engines (*περὶ μηχανημάτων*). A wooden tower on wheels is moved close to a besieged city which is depicted as a circular crenellated wall with a sumptuous entrance gate. Such an elaboration goes beyond the necessity of the scientific requirement of the text which deals only with the construction and use of war engines. The tower terminates in a kind of chamber from which a footbridge is thrown to the edge of the city wall, enabling the assaulting soldiers to enter the besieged city. The next step in clarifying such engine pictures would be the insertion of human figures who either move the tower forward, put the footbridge in place, or pass over it as attacking soldiers.

As a matter of fact there is another Vatican manuscript of about the same period¹⁶ whose miniatures do include this very type of explanatory human figure that demonstrates the manipulation of the engines (Fig. 7). But, interestingly enough, it is not by Heron of Alexandria but by a Byzantine writer by the name of Heron of Byzantium who, in the tenth century, excerpted the ancient writers on poliorcetics.¹⁷ The very fact that only the tenth-century paraphrase contains these explanatory human figures,¹⁸ which do not occur in any of the rather numerous copies of the treatises of the older Heron of Alexandria, makes us believe that they are actually medieval insertions, that is to say, from a period which put an even stronger emphasis on the didactic element in illustration than classical antiquity had ever done. This example should serve as a warning, even where a classical pictorial ancestry seems likely in principle, not to accept every medieval copy as a faithful rendering of the archetype, but to take into consideration changes and accretions during the long process of repeated copying.

The popularity of the poliorcetic treatises is even surpassed

by those of another branch of engineering treatises which deal with the construction of playful automata. By the same Heron of Alexandria two such treatises with illustrations have survived in about a hundred copies: the *Pneumatica*, the subject of which is engines driven by pneumatic power, and the *Automatopoietica* that deal with the construction of automata.¹⁹ A drawing in a thirteenth-century manuscript in Venice illustrating the *Pneumatica*²⁰ (Fig. 8) is based on the following passage: "On the base stands a little tree, around which a serpent coils; alongside of it stands Heracles as archer. An apple also lies on the base, and if you lift the apple a little bit with your hand Heracles will then release his arrow while the serpent will hiss." This drawing of the gadget for which the well known adventure of Heracles and the apples of the Hesperides is used as a motif, is very clear: it shows two basins, an apple in the center, and a weight underneath which, if lifted, releases the arrow and produces a hissing sound by means of a narrow pipe for compressed air.

Now, a sixteenth-century copy in Milan (Fig. 9)²¹ shows the same contraption but without the figure of Heracles and the serpent guarding the tree with the apples. The problem is whether the mythological features already existed in the classical archetype or were added later, in analogy to the explanatory figures in poliorcetic treatises (Fig. 7). In view of the purist tendency of classical science as reflected in diagrammatic drawings, one may well argue that the Milan miniature represents the more original form of illustration. And yet, we don't think this to be the case because Heracles is not an explanatory figure "manipulating" an engine but is, so to speak, the engine itself; and furthermore — a very important point — Heracles, the tree, and the serpent, contrary to most of the explanatory figures proper, are explicitly described by the text and therefore almost indispensable for the clarification of the drawing. Here sharp distinctions are necessary in order to judge the use of human figures in ancient scientific treatises.

BOTANY

Equal in importance to the mathematical and technical treatises with illustrations are those dealing with various branches of the natural sciences. We are accustomed to classify them according to modern disciplines, such as botanical, zoological, medical, but in classical times they were all considered medical. The classical herbal deals with plants exclusively from the point of view of their healing power, and animals are likewise treated from the utilitarian, that is, the medical point of view. It is characteristic that Dioscurides, the great pharmacologist of the first century A.D., gave to his compendium of plants and animals the title *De Materia Medica* (περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς).²² The herbal of Dioscurides in particular enjoyed a great popularity throughout the Middle Ages whose pharmacological knowledge was almost exclusively based on this particular herbal, and, together with its almost indispensable pictures, was copied not only in Greek manuscripts but also in Latin and Arabic translations.

Yet, illustrated herbals existed before Dioscurides. Pliny tells us (N.H. XXV,4) "that Crateuas, Dionysius and Metrodorus used to depict various plants in color and add to them a description of their properties." The passage clearly indicates that in this case illustrations were not merely an embellishment but the primary part with the text being an accompaniment to the pictures. In the excavations of Tebtunis in Egypt fragments of a papyrus roll from about the second century A.D. were found (Figs. 10a-b)²³ which are our earliest remains of an illustrated herbal. The plants, one being inscribed *pseudodictamon* (Fig. 10b), are depicted in a rather rough style — it obviously was not a luxury copy — and in considerable size, while the text is always written underneath the plant picture, in conformity with Pliny's statement.

There exists still another botanical papyrus fragment with illustrations, dating around 400 A.D., which was found in Anti-

noë and today is in the Johnson Collection in Oxford (Fig. 11).²⁴ It is, however, not part of a scroll but of a codex — one of the comparatively rare examples of papyrus codices — and consequently is written, and in this case also painted, on both sides. One of the pictures, representing the plant *symphyton* in richly shaded colors of violet, is of an impressive size, but leaves at the same time sufficient space for the explanatory text underneath, just as in the Tebtunis papyrus. Obviously in this and many other cases, the change from roll to codex did not affect the system of illustration. Moreover it is noteworthy that both botanical papyrus fragments contain a text different from that of the Dioscurides herbal which, as mentioned, became almost the sole survivor of ancient herbals in the Middle Ages.

Of all the extant Dioscurides manuscripts by far the most splendid copy is the one in the Library of Vienna²⁵ which was executed for the imperial princess by the name of Juliana Anicia in the early sixth century. Though fragmentary, it still contains around 400 plant pictures most of which fill a large codex page, while the text is written on the opposite page. Considering the fact that half a millennium has passed between the archetype of the Dioscurides herbal and the present copy, the verisimilitude of the plants as may be seen from the example of the violet (Fig. 12)²⁶ is extraordinary indeed. This would hardly be possible if there had been many intermediary copies, and we must, therefore, assume that the copyist of the Anicia codex used a model which was very early and at the same time of high quality. It will be noticed that the plants are not designed in natural three-dimensionality, but rather as if they had been pressed. The reason, obviously, was not incapability, but as in some of the city pictures in the Agrimensores text and the engines in Heron's treatises (Figs. 3, 4), the employment of the most advantageous viewpoint, since in perspective distant parts would be overlapped and therefore less clear.

From the same archetype, though not the Anicia codex proper,

must be derived another richly illustrated copy of about the seventh century which formerly was also in the Library of Vienna and is now in Naples.²⁷ Here the plant of the violet (Fig. 13)²⁸ is more stylized and more geometrical: the leaves form a circle and the blossoms two adjoining triangles. Still another copy, this time from the early tenth century and now in the Morgan Library in New York,²⁹ is likewise a copy of the same archetype and, besides, in all probability a direct one of the Anicia codex. It will immediately be noticed that this tenth-century copy, as demonstrated once more by the violet (Fig. 14),³⁰ is much closer to the sixth-century model (Fig. 12) than the seventh-century copy (Fig. 13) and has preserved a greater verisimilitude which is synonymous with a better preservation of the classical tradition.

It is by no means accidental that there are so many excellent copies from the tenth century, textual and pictorial, almost all produced in Constantinople. This was the time of a veritable revival of classical studies in the capital, generally known today as the "Macedonian renaissance,"³¹ and I shall discuss other illustrated manuscripts from that century which are excellent copies of early classical models. From this example of the violet the maxim can be deduced that in using medieval copies for the reconstruction of classical book illumination, the temporal proximity of a copy to the archetype is not the most decisive factor. A later copy can be, and often is, better than an earlier one — a statement hardly surprising to the textual critic.

In the Vatican there is another excellent copy of the pictures of the Anicia codex which is as late as the fifteenth century, though without the accompanying text, being probably made for an Italian humanist.³² But, in between, mediocre copies were also made. From the twelfth century we have, for example, a rather poor copy, at least as far as the plant pictures are concerned, in the Athos monastery Lavra.³³ Although the violet is botanically almost unrecognizable (Fig. 15), it is interesting

because of the addition of flower-girls holding baskets in which they are collecting violets. Since none of the earlier manuscripts possesses such explanatory human figures engaged in flower-picking, while the Lavra codex has quite a number of them,³⁴ it seems certain that they are additions made at the earliest in the course of the tenth century under the impact of the Macedonian renaissance. With their bare arms and girded peplos, these figures have a classical appearance and may well have been copied from an ancient illustrated text, though not a Dioscurides herbal.³⁵

In addition to encyclopedic herbals like that of Dioscurides, there existed from an early time more specialized pieces of writing on botany like those of Nicander of Colophon who lived in the second century B.C. and wrote two treatises on antidotes against the bites of poisonous animals, the *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*.³⁶ That they were already illustrated in classical antiquity is assured by a remark in Tertullian that "Nicander scribit et pingit."³⁷ From the tenth century we have a richly illustrated copy in Paris (Fig. 16)³⁸ which contains rather rough plant and animal pictures and, in addition, some human figures which, once more, must be considered intrusions of about the same time the copy was made — the Macedonian renaissance. The present example shows a serpent, three healing plants, and a youth clad in a short tunic who looks afraid and runs away, though in the wrong direction since the threatening serpent is in front of him. Our notion that this figure is a later intrusion is based not only on the fact that it is lacking in earlier Nicander manuscripts,³⁹ but on formal considerations as well. The plants have had to be pushed aside in order to accommodate the human figure⁴⁰ which, in addition, is not quite in agreement with the text which speaks in this place not about poisoning through a snake bite, but through mushrooms (Al. 527–535) and instructs you that you have to put your hand into the mouth of the poisoned man so that he can vomit. The pic-

ture, obviously, is not a literal illustration of the Nicander text but the artist drew this fleeing figure from some other classical model yet to be determined. The flower-picking girls in the *Lavra Dioscurides* (Fig. 15) and the fleeing youth in the *Nican-der* belong to the same category of explanatory figures as the men handling war engines in the manuscript of *Heron of Byzantium* (Fig. 7) who were likewise considered to be later accretions.

ZOOLOGY

The purity of classical scientific illustrations noted in the earlier plant pictures of the *Dioscurides* herbals that were free of accretions can also be demonstrated in the field of Zoology. A great variety of animal pictures appears in Book II of *Dioscurides' De Materia Medica*, entitled "About all living things" (*περὶ ζώων παντοίων*). It is not preserved in the sixth-century *Anicia* codex in Vienna, but in the tenth-century copy in the Morgan Library,⁴¹ which is more complete. As in the plant pictures the illustrator is confronted with the problem of combining verisimilitude with the greatest possible clarity: the crab (Fig. 17) which is not described in the text with regard to its form or habits but only to the usefulness of its ashes for those bitten by mad dogs, is depicted in bird's-eye view in a little pond, designed in what might be called a cartographic view, whereas the various snails⁴² are given in profile as if moving on the ground, although, in accordance with the tradition of papyrus illustration, no ground line is indicated. This is just another example of how in scientific treatises two different viewpoints are employed in the illustrations side by side just as they fit the occasion.

But while it lies in the nature of the *Dioscurides* treatise to choose the animals for their utilitarian purpose from all possible categories, that is, quadrupeds, birds, insects, serpents, lizards,

fishes, worms, etc., there are also more specialized animal treatises. The Anicia codex in Vienna contains, as a kind of an appendix to Dioscurides, a treatise on birds,⁴³ written by a certain Dionysius of Philadelphia who is not identified with certainty, but seems to have lived around the second century.⁴⁴ These earliest scientific bird pictures we possess (Fig. 18)⁴⁵ have the same high degree of verisimilitude as the herbal pictures, and the identification of most of the birds offers little difficulty as that in the first row of the ostrich, the bustard, probably the moor hen, and the partridge. Yet, these pictures may not have been invented for the treatise of Dionysius but may have been taken from an earlier bird treatise which, some scholars believe, may have been the zoological handbook of Alexander of Myndos, who wrote in the first century A.D.⁴⁶ This situation reveals one of the main difficulties in connection with book illumination, namely, that the archetype of the pictures does not necessarily coincide with the archetype of the text and that the pictures may be later as well as earlier.

From the formal point of view the bird treatise of Dionysius shows an interesting development. Whereas in the first two books the birds are individually intercalated into the writing columns in the tradition of the papyrus style,⁴⁷ in the third book they are collected on a full page and arranged in a kind of grid pattern, taking advantage of the codex format.⁴⁸ Such a page resembles a certain type of floor mosaic where birds and other animals are arranged in a similar way. Not that this decorative system originated in manuscripts, but wherever a mosaicist wanted to fill a floor with birds of every possible variety, he seemingly consulted illustrated manuscripts and a collective leaf like that of the Vienna codex he could copy with few changes necessary.⁴⁹ Similarly, where we find floor mosaics representing an aquarium in which the artist tries to demonstrate his knowledge of as many species of fish as possible,⁵⁰ he gathered his knowledge, not from going to the fish market and making sketches, but apparently from consulting the illustrated fish

books which, like so many of the zoological treatises, were utilitarian — in this case specialized cooking books.⁵¹

While stressing the scientific outlook in classical antiquity, it should not be overlooked that there also existed a literature that perpetuated fabulous anecdotes, and about animals in particular, which have their root in folklore. No matter how incredulous they sound, they have at all times found a reading public. Best known is the so-called *Physiologus* which is supposed to have originated around 200 A.D.;⁵² and, although each animal story ends with a Christian moral, its roots reach back into the classical period, including the moralizing tendency as such. The *Physiologus* pictures can easily be divided in two groups: the real animals, about which sometimes absurd folktales were current in antiquity, and the hybrids which, in part, belong to mythology.

To the first group belongs the picture of a pair of weasels in an eleventh-century Greek *Physiologus* which once belonged to the Library of Smyrna, but, unfortunately, was destroyed by fire in the 1920's (Fig. 19).⁵³ Although the weasels are depicted in basically the same manner as the animals in strictly scientific treatises like the *Dioscurides*, the text tells the incredible story that the weasel conceives through the mouth and gives birth through the ear, and, consequently, the illustrator depicted a baby weasel issuing from the ear of the weasel at the left.

The second category is well represented by a miniature which depicts a pair of centaurs and a pair of sirens (Fig. 20).⁵⁴ The latter are represented half bird and half woman, and play harps of different shapes. The text alludes to their ability to infatuate passing sailors by their melodious song, and to make them jump into the water. This, of course, alludes to the well-known story of the *Odyssey*. In Greco-Roman art Odysseus' adventure with the sirens is frequently represented, and thus it seems very likely, indeed, that the ultimate source for the siren of the *Physiologus* was an illustrated *Odyssey*.

Besides the *Physiologus* there exists still another treatise, like-

wise of late classical origin, which specializes in animal monsters and all kinds of monstrosities. Neither title nor author has come down to us and the treatise is generally known under the title *The Marvels of the East*.⁵⁵ The geographical locality where the monsters are supposed to exist is India, and their description occurs first in travel books of that country. Only medieval copies have survived, the most outstanding one artistically being an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the early eleventh century in London.⁵⁶ One of its miniatures (Fig. 21) shows a lion-headed man and a "giant with legs twelve feet long and a body seven feet broad who quickly devours whomever he catches."

How old are these illustrations? Since these monsters occur also in Solinus' *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, written in the third century, it has been argued that the archetype of Solinus already had these pictures.⁵⁷ But in our search for the ultimate source we have to go back even further and into the Greek world. Quite a number of the monsters are also described in the Alexander-romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes⁵⁸ which we know for certain to have been illustrated. Since, however, the Pseudo-Callisthenes text could not have been the sole source either for the *Marvels of the East*, a common archetype must be assumed prior to the second and third centuries when the Alexander-romance was written and presumably illustrated (see p. 106). Pictures, either individually or in cycles, easily migrate from one text into another so that the same set of animal pictures may appear in a scientific as well as in a literary text. This easy migration of pictures from one text into another is one of the basic principles one has to understand when dealing with book illumination.⁵⁹

MEDICAL SCIENCE

Since the time of Hippocrates, medical science had become a field of scientific investigation of a scope and intensity similar

to that of botany and zoology, and had, in the Hellenistic period, developed into specialized branches. Many medical treatises that require illustrations quite surely had them from the very beginning and, in analogy to other scientific treatises, the illustrators began with diagrammatic sketches, like those of the inner organs of the human body that have survived in some manuscripts.⁶⁰ Other miniatures show parts of the human body to the extent that they are required for demonstration purposes. There is, for example, a treatise on bandaging (*περὶ ἐπιδέσμων*), a kind of first-aid manual by Soranus of Ephesus, a Greek physician living in the time of Trajan and Hadrian, of which an illustrated copy of the tenth century has survived in the Laurentian Library in Florence (Fig. 22).⁶¹ Whatever part of the body needed to be bandaged — a hand, a foot, or a head — is depicted in this manuscript with a bandage in the proper place, and only in cases of breast and abdominal bandages is the human figure represented as a whole. Yet even these illustrations, which look so factual and scientific and, in conformity with the papyrus tradition, are placed in the narrow writing columns, contain some elements which go beyond the barest necessity and reveal a purely artistic intention. The faces in the head bandages show a varying physiognomy and are either bearded or beardless.⁶² Besides they are framed like ancient portraits in clipeus form (see Figs. 124–127). This suggests the use of portrait heads as models which the illustrator most likely had seen in biographical texts (see pp. 118 ff.) and copied from there, thus establishing another case of migration from one illustrated book into another.

A similar type of illustration can be seen in a handbook on midwifery in which the embryos are drawn in different positions and placed in a diagrammatical form of the uterus. The earliest copy of this treatise is a Carolingian manuscript in Brussels (Fig. 23)⁶³ which shows frameless pictures in narrow writing columns in conformity with the principles of papyrus illustration. This Latin text names as author a physician by the name of

Mustio who lived in the sixth century. Yet it has been proved that this Mustio text is but a translation of a treatise by Soranus,⁶⁴ the same Soranus who wrote the treatise on bandages. This means that the Carolingian copy ultimately harks back to a Greek archetype, contemporary with that of the bandaging treatise. There is a certain similarity between the pictures of the two manuscripts, especially as far as the very slender proportions of the figures are concerned, which seem so out of place as representations of the embryos and this suggests a common tradition also for the illustrations.

Pictures in medical manuscripts were of particular importance for practical demonstration. For this reason they were, at times, copied as an isolated picture set without the text, and, examining medieval manuscripts from this point of view, it will be noticed that such a separation of picture and text occurs more frequently in medical manuscripts than in any other branch of scientific literature.

One such set that illustrates healing by cautery has come down to us in more than twenty copies from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, all of which are Latin.⁶⁵ Not a single one has an accompanying text except for a few brief explanatory lines, and this can only mean that the pictures were, at an early date, isolated from the text which was subsequently lost, whereas the copying of the picture set went on for centuries. Cautery is already mentioned by Hippocrates, and the archetype of our picture set quite assuredly goes back to the Hellenistic or Roman period. In analogy to the two Soranus treatises just discussed, it can be assumed that a twelfth-century copy in Pisa (Fig. 24)⁶⁶ comes closest to the archetype because of its clear preservation of the papyrus style of illustration. The patients, nude as in the bandaging treatise (Fig. 22) and without any accessories, fill narrow writing columns and the black dots on various parts of the body are a sufficient indication of the spots to be cauterized.

Then a process of accretion started. First the physician's hand

is added holding the cautery at the sore spot of the patient,⁶⁷ only to be replaced by the full figure of the physician. As the next step the physician needs an assistant who, in the case of an English miniature of a manuscript in Durham Cathedral from around 1100 (Fig. 25),⁶⁸ holds a pair of scissors probably for shaving the head before the wound of the skull is treated; and finally a servant makes his appearance, heating the cautery irons and carefully examining them. It is difficult to determine the approximate date when these accretions were first made. It might have happened in connection with the transformation of a roll into a codex, or it may have taken place somewhat later in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the accretions might have been made gradually, rather than all at once.

A similar problem of accretion occurs in the illustrations of another specialized treatise, this time a Greek one dealing with the dislocation of bones (*περὶ ἄρθρων*), based on Hippocratic methods. Here we are on surer ground because the text is preserved and the author known: Apollonius of Citium, who lived in the first century B.C. The earliest illustrated copy we have is a part of the same tenth-century manuscript in Florence (Fig. 26)⁶⁹ of which Soranus' treatise on bandaging forms a part, the two being the only illustrated ones in a bulky medical compendium. Since the archetype was written, and in all likelihood also illustrated in the first century B.C., it must have been a papyrus roll. But a roll picture surely could not have had the arches with the curtains fastened to the columns. The repertory of the ornament is not earlier than the fifth or sixth centuries, and consequently the arches were added only *after* the transformation from roll to codex.⁷⁰

One of the miniatures depicts the re-position of the left femur which had slipped out of the socket toward the inner side. The patient is bound by straps, and while two attendants stretch the body, a third resets the dislocated bone with the help of bellows. What must strike the beholder as incongruous is the suspension

of the strapped patient, of which one becomes all the more conscious in relation to the kneeling and standing attendants who seem to move on different levels. Without them the picture would simply be a demonstration figure like the bandaged man in Soranus (Fig. 22) and the nude figures with the cautery (Fig. 24); consequently, I like to suggest as archetype a picture of only the patient in a horizontal position with the straps and the bellows. Also difficult to explain is the nakedness of the attendants, since no ancient physician or assistant would be represented nude while practicing. If, as I am inclined to believe, these helpers were additions, perhaps not before the Middle Byzantine period, then it can be assumed that the Byzantine illustrator, being not too imaginative and having no other model available, simply used a type of nude patient and turned him into a physician.

This is not the place to deal with every medical treatise which in classical antiquity was or might have been illustrated, but one more may be mentioned from the field of veterinary medicine in order to demonstrate that this branch of medical science also existed with illustrations.⁷¹ From the late Byzantine period we have a Hippiatric treatise dealing with the healing of sick horses of which a fourteenth-century copy in Paris (Fig. 27)⁷² depicts, for example, a horse with shoulder pains from which blood is let, while another horse is treated by a veterinarian with a bolus, as the implement is called, for a similar shoulder ailment. Whereas the miniatures as such are, no doubt, of classical descent here again is the problem of the attachment of the human figure. In the case of the first horse the blood streams at the chest are thoroughly sufficient to indicate the location of the ailment, while in the second it is difficult to determine whether the veterinarian belongs to the archetype or is a later accretion. The short, bi-color, vertically divided tunic and the youthfulness speak against a classical descent, since an ancient physician would invariably be a mature man in a mantle; on the other hand, one may have to

reckon with far-reaching changes in the course of repeated copying, particularly in matters of costume. Moreover, in order to accommodate the veterinarian, the horse had to be pushed partly into the lateral margin while normally an illustrator tries to confine himself to the lateral limits of a writing column.

GEORGICS

Within the realm of the natural sciences, the illustrated treatises discussed so far, with the exception of the *Physiologus* and the *Marvels of the East*, represent the pure scientific viewpoint of classical antiquity that aims first of all at clarity and conciseness of the pictures which were added for reasons of increased intelligibility of the text rather than artistic embellishment. But there also existed, in antiquity as today, the desire to give to a certain type of scientific writing a wider appeal and to popularize it. Textually this was achieved by putting the scientific content into verse form, and this led to the creation of the didactic poem in which a dry matter is meant to be made more palatable and quite often is. In conformity with this trend the illustrators introduced into the scientific pictures a variety of features which go far beyond scientific requirements, and thus the illustrated didactic poems develop into a category of their own which stands halfway between pure science and poetry.

However, the developments in literature and miniature painting do not always keep step with each other. First of all, didactic poems were written long before any systematic and elaborate illustration of texts had taken place. The great classic among the didactic poems, and the earliest one surviving, is Hesiod's *Works and Days*. If it ever was illustrated at an early time, the only kind of picture we would expect from a pre-Hellenistic text is the diagrammatical which, from the art historical point of view, should rather be associated with the pure scientific and not the semi-poetical books. Quite a number of Hesiod manuscripts like the

fourteenth-century one in Cambridge (Fig. 28)⁷³ possess just one miniature, illustrating a passage in which the poet gives advice about the manufacturing of agricultural implements at a time when the season is appropriate to cut the timber for them. Where the text speaks of "the cutting of a felly three spans across for a wagon of ten palms width" (verses 424ff.), the illustrator depicts a wagon in diagrammatic form in partial bird's-eye view in the same way as some engines are designed in Heron's *Mechanics* (Fig. 4), and this analogy speaks in favor of an ancient origin of the Hesiod drawing which includes other implements like axes, mortars with pestles, and two plows.

ARATEA

The discrepancy between a didactic piece of writing in verse form and its pure scientific illustration continues even in texts written in the Hellenistic period like Nicander's *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* already mentioned — at least in their original form before the Middle Ages added human figures and in a few cases whole mythological scenes (pp. 97ff. and Figs. 16, 105, 106, 116). It seems by no means accidental that such elaborate accretions should appear in a didactic poem to a much larger degree than, for example, in the Dioscurides herbal written in prose, where the accretions are on a more modest scale and confined strictly to explanatory figures (Fig. 15).

Other didactic poems, however, incorporated mythological pictures already in classical antiquity, thus establishing a balance between the poetical quality of the text and its illustration. The best example for this harmony is the so-called *Aratea*, the various commentaries based on the *Phaenomena* which were written at the end of the fourth century B.C. by Aratus of Soloi.⁷⁴ In the *Phaenomena* proper, written in hexameter, Aratus had put into verse a scholarly treatise by the famed mathematician and astronomer Eudoxus of Cnidos. The papyrus from the second cen-

ture B.C. (Fig. 2) with a text based on astronomical precepts by this very Eudoxus includes, among its simple diagrams the scarab, the claws, and the scorpion. Likewise, in all illustrated texts ultimately derived from Aratus like the Carolingian manuscript in Cologne,⁷⁵ one of the earliest copies in existence, there is a very similar scorpion for this constellation (Fig. 29). This suggests not only that the archetype of Aratus already had constellation pictures but that they depended, in part at least, on an older Eudoxus illustration.

Unfortunately no Aratus proper with miniatures has survived in later copies, but only illustrated commentaries. They are, actually, the most frequently illustrated text from classical antiquity we have today, but, at the same time, they are all Latin. Surely also some of the Greek commentaries must have had pictures, although the only set of constellation pictures, preserved in a Vatican manuscript from the fourteenth to fifteenth century,⁷⁶ has no accompanying text — just as in so many of the medical treatises (p. 20 and Figs. 24, 25). In the commentaries new features are introduced, and consequently not every constellation picture in the so-called *Aratea* manuscripts could hark back to an illustrated *Phaenomena* of Aratus proper. This applies in particular to those constellations which are designed in mythological garb. They apparently originated in the *Katasterismoi* by Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the Alexandrian librarian under Ptolemy Euergetes,⁷⁷ where, for example, the constellation of Engonasin, described in Aratus simply as a man on his knees as the name suggests, is interpreted as Heracles. Thus, in the same Cologne manuscript (Fig. 30) ⁷⁸ Heracles is depicted swinging his club against the serpent that tries to protect the tree with the apples of the Hesperides. On Eratosthenes depend more or less all later commentaries, and we know the names of no less than twenty-seven authors who wrote commentaries to Aratus' *Phaenomena* of which those by Cicero, Germanicus, Hyginus, and Bede still exist with illustrations,⁷⁹ although most of the

other commentaries, in all probability, had similar sets of pictures too. Yet the composition of a new paraphrase or commentary does not necessarily mean a change in the picture cycle, and the comparatively few changes which do occur do not coincide with the text families. The Aratus manuscripts are one of the best paradigms to demonstrate that text recension and picture recension do not fully coincide, and that, therefore, separate stemmata have to be worked out for texts and pictures.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND FOWLING

Of the Roman period, the best known didactic poems are the geographical handbook of Dionysius Periegetes and two others that deal with hunting. While quite possibly all three were illustrated in classical antiquity, the only one which has come down to us with a miniature cycle — and a rather extensive one — is the *Cynegetica*, a treatise on *Hunting with Dogs* by a certain Oppian who wrote at the time of Caracalla around 200 A.D.⁸⁰ He also is called Pseudo-Oppian in order to distinguish him from another, contemporary Oppian who likewise wrote didactic poems. The text has a certain fluency and even elegance, while the pictures in the best copy we have, an eleventh-century manuscript in Venice (Figs. 31–34)⁸¹ show a great verisimilitude and vivacity of animals in action. Where, at the end of the fourth book (verses 448ff.) (Fig. 31), the text speaks of “the fox which cannot be caught by ambush nor by noose nor by net but only by thronging hounds and even that only with some bloodshed,” the illustrator depicts one hound blocking the escape of the fleeing fox while another bites the fox in its back. The liveliness and naturalistic design of the animals can only be explained by the use of a good classical model by a Byzantine artist of the Macedonian renaissance, and it does not seem likely that there could have been many, if any, intermediary copies between the early third-century archetype and the tenth- to eleventh-century

copies. Other hunting scenes include figures of hunters, and, where one meets similar scenes on late classical floor mosaics, it seems more than likely, indeed, that illustrated manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oppian and others like it were the ultimate source.⁸²

In his introduction Pseudo-Oppian compares the hunting with dogs to the bloodless toil of the fisherman and the bird-catcher. The illustrator depicts these occupations in much greater detail than is explainable by the text which, in the first case (Fig. 32), speaks only about an angler who sits on rocks and catches fish "with curving rods and deadly hooks," but not about fishing by boat. This can only mean that the picture was not invented for the *Cynegetica*, but for another, fuller text. Now, under the name of Oppian, not identical with our Pseudo-Oppian, there exists a didactic poem entitled *Halieutica*⁸³ where we read (verses 41ff.) about the "fishermen's wandering in tiny barks, obsequious to the stormy winds, their minds ever on the surging waves." Considering the ease with which illustrators copied pictures from other manuscripts wherever it fitted their purposes, it seems very likely indeed that we have here a migrated miniature from either an illustrated *Halieutica* or some similar poem on fishing.

The Venetian *Cynegetica* manuscript also contains, as illustrations of the preface, two miniatures which demonstrate the various methods of catching birds. The text mentions long cords and yellow birdlime and reeds as implements, but this is not enough to explain all details of the miniatures. In one of them (Fig. 33)⁸⁴ the hunter, whose dress is brought up to date according to the fashion of the day, sits relaxedly in front of a luxurious tent and faces two cages with decoy birds, while at the right, another hunter catches partridges. The same Pseudo-Oppian who wrote the *Cynegetica* also wrote a didactic poem on birdcatching by lime twigs, entitled *Ixeutica*. So, quite likely we have here from this lost poem a stray miniature which like all the other pictures in the *Cynegetica*, in spite of some changes,

is of classical descent and which must be handled in a similar manner to that in which philologists handle text quotations.

The *Cynegetica*, though ably written, is not a very original text, and many of its animal stories show up in other texts. The easy exchangeability of stories at a time when plagiarism did not exist as a concept, is a generally accepted fact among the historians of literature. Yet that a similar exchangeability also existed with regard to illustrations, is not as readily understood and seen in its implications by art historians. There is, for example, the story of the jealous rival bulls (II, 43ff.) who butt each other with their horns until the victor chases away the defeated, whereupon the latter retires into the woods, gathers new strength, and then returns to renew the fight. In the *Cynegetica* manuscript in Venice this story is illustrated in no less than four miniatures,⁸⁵ one of which (Fig. 34) depicts the actual butting with the horns. The same story is told also in Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* (VI.1), written about the same time as Pseudo-Oppian; and it would, of course, be interesting to know whether Aelian too was illustrated, since the character of his moralizing animal stories must have seemed very inviting, indeed, to an illustrator.

Moreover, the story of the two jealous bulls is told also in Virgil's *Georgics* (III, 209ff.). In the earliest illustrated copy we have, a Vatican codex from the early fifth century (Fig. 35),⁸⁶ a collective miniature portrays, first the defeated bull who has retired into the woods; then he is repeated charging a tree trunk in order to regain his strength; and finally he renews his charge against the unmindful foe. This third action is depicted in a compositional scheme so much like that in the parallel Pseudo-Oppian miniature that a common archetype must be postulated which it can be assumed to have been a Greek rather than a Latin source, prior to Virgil. The tale of the fighting bulls already occurs in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (575a20), but whether this work was ever illustrated and might

therefore have been the common source seems rather doubtful. As a whole it was the more popular rather than the strictly scientific texts that attracted illustrators who set out to depict a narration in picture language and from this point of view Aelian, Pseudo-Oppian, and Virgil must have seemed more inviting than Aristotle.

It is difficult to assess the spread and the popularity of the illustrated didactic poems within ancient book illumination. Their familiarity and high appreciation can perhaps best be demonstrated by their impact on Christian and especially biblical book illumination. While a more thorough treatment of this problem obviously is beyond the scope of this study, I should like nonetheless to show one such revealing instance. At the beginning of the Book of Job we hear about Job's riches — such as 500 yoke of oxen. Instead of merely representing a group of oxen, as do most illustrated Job manuscripts, an eleventh-century copy in the monastery of Mount Sinai (Fig. 36)⁸⁷ depicts two oxen butting each other and, in addition, the victorious bull leading a happy family life. Here for the third time is a representation of the same story of the fighting bulls which we have found in Pseudo-Oppian and Virgil's *Georgics* and which may also have existed in Aelian. From one of these texts the biblical illustrator must have copied this pastoral scene for which there is no explanation in the Book of Job.

This chapter on scientific and didactic treatises has gradually moved from an initially diagrammatic illustration in mathematical and other scientific treatises to one with greater artistic ambition like that in Virgil's *Georgics* whose miniatures show an elaborate landscape setting and a free atmosphere. As a whole the illustrated scientific treatises are of an almost bewildering variety, and yet it must be emphasized that we are still far from having anything like a complete record of all those which once had illustrations. We may not even have touched upon every

major branch. The fraction of classical literature that has come down to us is infinitesimal in relation to what once existed when the Alexandrian library possessed 600,000 scrolls. At the same time it must be taken into account that, when Callimachus, the great librarian in Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes, finished in 120 volumes the catalogue of that famed library, scientific writings still played a minor, subordinate role. According to his classification the epic poets occupied the first place.

II

EPIC POETRY

ILIAD

THE first condition for a text to be illustrated is its popularity, and this holds true for literary even more than for scientific texts. The second condition is a narrative content with a considerable amount of action so that the illustrator may clearly visualize events as historical realities. In the Early Christian period these two conditions are most fully met in certain books of the Bible like the Pentateuch, the Books of Kings, and the Gospels. The essence of good pictorial narrative is not so much the concentration on a single event in a comprehensive picture that focuses on a climactic moment — this was done in Greek fresco and vase painting of the high classical period¹ — as to divide an episode into a series of consecutive phases in which the protagonist is repeated again and again. The aim is to have the changes of action represented in such a dense sequence that the beholder can read the picture story almost without resorting to the text for supplementary information. In doing so the illustrator introduces into painting the element of moving action which previously had been considered the province of the writer. The art of such extensive picture narratives is an invention of the Hellenistic age, and with it begins a development which reached its final solution in our own day in the motion picture.

The text of classical antiquity which most completely fulfills the two requirements — popularity and richness of action — and

in these respects outranks any other is unquestionably Homer's *Iliad*. Its popularity is underlined by the fact that among the papyrus fragments of literary texts those from the *Iliad* are by far the most numerous of any ancient author. In 1923 Oldfather made a check list of literary papyri² which today is no longer up-to-date, but still reflects quite well the proportionate share of individual writers in relation to the total. He listed 1189 literary papyri, of which 315, more than a quarter, are Homeric. Of these, again 221 are from the *Iliad*, 61 from the *Odyssey*, and the remaining 33 from commentaries, lexica, etc., referring to Homer, thus indicating at the same time the greater popularity of the *Iliad* as compared with the *Odyssey*.³ Whether one or the other of these papyrus fragments had illustrations was, in general, not the concern of the papyrologist,⁴ but it is safe to say that pictures or even the simplest kind of drawings are extremely rare among the listed literary papyri. Furthermore, there exist a few miniatures on papyri of which the accompanying text has either been lost entirely or reduced to a few unidentifiable lines, and such drawings do, of course, not show up in the lists of literary papyri.

As a matter of fact, visual evidence for the existence of an illustrated *Iliad* on papyrus is based on such a shred, now in Munich and ascribed to the fourth century A.D. (Fig. 37)⁵ which contains only a fragmentary miniature and no text around it. On iconographical grounds it is identifiable as an episode from the first book, depicting Briseis as she is led away by the two heralds, Talthybius and Eurybates. Only the right half of the picture is preserved; the left half undoubtedly represented the mourning Achilles seated in his tent and surrounded by the Myrmidons and Patroclus.

The correctness of this interpretation rests on a comparison with a miniature of the well-known *Iliad* in Milan (Fig. 39), a fragmentary, but once prolifically illustrated, luxurious parchment codex of the fifth century, as we believe.⁶ The manner in

which Briseis is gently led away by the two heralds flanking her, while she looks back longingly to Achilles, and many of the poses and gestures are so much alike that not only does the interpretation of the Munich fragment seem assured, but a common archetype must be assumed for both. In other words, both belong to the same picture recension, and this implies that the miniatures copy the archetype so faithfully with regard to the compositional layout that picture stemmata can be established along similar lines as text stemmata. For the medieval scholar this concept of the copying process has always been the basis for his iconographical investigations, but that it applies also to ancient art, at least of the Hellenistic and Roman period, has not so readily been understood. It is not before the Hellenistic period that in certain groups of monuments a more rigid process of copying resulted in a comparatively greater unchangeability of the composition of a given event. It seems even more than likely that an inner relation exists between the formation of a fixed iconography and the origin of book illumination.

How comprehensive was the Iliad cycle of the archetype from which the Munich papyrus and the Milan miniatures are to be derived? The 58 cut-out miniatures which still exist in the Milan codex are distributed very unevenly over the 24 books. While Book I alone has 10 miniatures, those of Books XVIII–XX are lost altogether. Taking the number for Book I as an average (admitting that even this section of the cycle may not be complete) we arrive at an estimate of about 240 miniatures for the codex when it was still intact.⁷ One can hardly think of any other medium except the book in which cycles of pictures that have to be counted by the hundreds could be accommodated.

Moreover, as mentioned before, the essence of good narrative art is the division of one episode into single phases, thereby creating the element of motion. In the Milan codex the abduction of Briseis is preceded by a representation of the arrival of

the two heralds who put their claim before Achilles seated in the tent (Fig. 38), and followed by another with Thetis consoling Achilles. Although the abduction of Briseis, filled with tension, had been the subject of a monumental composition in Pompeian wall painting (whose composition, however, is quite different),⁸ a scene like the arrival of the heralds is an event of secondary importance. For this reason, it most likely never existed as an isolated monumental composition, but has value only as part of a larger narrative cycle. Scenes based on Homer's *Iliad* occur already in archaic art,⁹ but it is not before the Hellenistic period that the principle of the "extended narrative" occurs as in the Briseis episode of the Milan codex;¹⁰ and the implication is that it was invented by those artists who for the first time illustrated the full *Iliad* presumably on 24 papyrus scrolls with hundreds of scenes.

The Munich papyrus and the Milan fragments are as late as the fourth and fifth century. But are there any *Iliad* scenes of the same recension prior to that date that would throw some light on the probable date of the archetype? From the first century a series of small tablets in *piombino* (pulverized marble) exist which, on account of the predominant subject matter represented on them, are generally known as "Iliac tablets." They had already been connected with book illumination by Otto Jahn who was the first to publish this group of monuments¹¹ and other scholars followed him in this point. On the right wing of a fragmentary, originally tripartite plaque in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 40a), each one of the superimposed friezes is reserved for a few, very precise illustrations from just one book of the *Iliad*. The scenes of Book XXII, for example, begin with a representation of the Porta Scaea (Fig. 40a-b) in which Hector appears in frontal pose, leaning on his lance and holding a shield, while to the right Achilles is ambushing him and provoking him to battle.

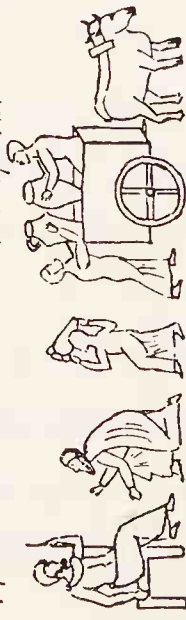
In the corresponding miniature of the Milan codex (Fig. 41)

Hector appears in a pose and an architectural setting so similar that, once more, a common archetype seems the only possible explanation. Nor is this the only scene where the Milan codex and the Iliac tablets agree. In quite a number of instances, where the same episode is depicted in both cycles, the agreements are so strong that the assumption of a common recension finds full confirmation. The importance of this is twofold: with regard to the Milan miniatures it means that their archetype is at least four centuries earlier; and, as far as the tablets are concerned, it provides corroborating evidence for their dependence upon miniature models. If thus a common archetype at least as early as the first century must be postulated which could only have been a manuscript, what did it look like?

There exist two illustrated fragments of literary papyri, to be discussed later on in detail, which are sufficient in length in order to deduce from them the principles of the formal arrangement of the miniatures. One is a romance text in Paris with three consecutive scenes (Fig. 107); the other is a Heracles poem in Oxford (Fig. 59) likewise with three scenes which consist of sketchy brush drawings, placed without frame and background within the writing columns wherever the text requires them. It is very much the same system which was applied to the illustrations in scientific treatises (Figs. 1, 2); consequently, one feels justified to assume for it a general validity regardless of whether or not it is found in scientific or literary texts.

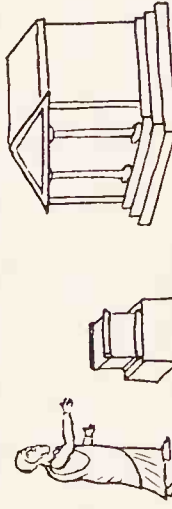
Based on this evidence, I have attempted a reconstruction of an illustrated Homer roll (Text fig. A), using as model for the miniatures the initial scenes of book I from the same Iliac tablet (Fig. 56)¹² from which the scene with Hector in the Porta Scaea was chosen (Fig. 40a-b). Using as a norm 28 lines for a writing column, an average number for good literary papyri, the first three scenes are placed close to the actual verses which they illustrate, with the result that each column has a picture. In the first we see Chryses kneeling before Agamemnon and un-

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ΑΤΡΕΪΔΑΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΥΚΗΜΗΜΙΔΕΣ ΑΧΑΙΟΙ
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 ΑΛΛ ΚΑΚΩC ΑΦΙΕΙ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕΡΙ ΜΥΘΟΝ ΕΤΕΛΕ
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ΚΑΥΘΙ ΜΕΓΑΡΥΡΟΤΟΞΟC ΧΡΥCΗΝ ΑΦΙΒΕΒΗΚΑC
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 ΗΚΑΙ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΠΟΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΕΚΔΙΟC ΕCΤΙΝ

FIGURE A. Reconstruction of an Iliad Roll of the First Century B.C.

loading the ransom (verse 16); in the second Chryses prays in front of the temple of Apollo Smintheus after having been rebuffed by Agamemnon (verse 36); and in the third the revengeful Apollo kills the Achaeans with his bow (verse 52). Of course, there is no rule that each column of the scroll must have one picture; probably, some had no pictures at all, and others, in analogy to the Heracles papyrus (Fig. 59), had two. Since a single book of the *Iliad* requires about 30 writing columns, the estimate of about 30 miniatures for each single book does not seem extravagant. By multiplying 30 by 24 we arrive at the staggering number of 720 miniatures for a complete *Iliad*. The manuscript, whether roll or codex, is the only medium, in my opinion, in which such enormous cycles can be accommodated, and in richly illustrated Bible manuscripts from the Early Christian period cycles whose scenes have to be counted by the hundreds are not exceptional.

Our knowledge of narrative *Iliad* cycles has, in recent years, been greatly enriched by three lengthy, narrow friezes in Pompeian houses, two in fresco and a third in colored stucco.¹³ One of the two fresco friezes is in the Casa del Criptoportico and consists of lively scenes, intersected by festooned herms, that cover events from the first to the last book of the *Iliad*. The identification of the episodes, depicted in an elegant style, is greatly facilitated by Greek inscriptions, and if the artists themselves were not Greek, at least their models must have been Greek. The system of lining up concise narrative scenes suggests, for their iconography, a model of the same kind as that which stands behind the *Iliad* tablets, that is, illustrated rolls from which the fresco painter, just like the craftsman of the *Iliad* tablets, selected those which seemed to him most significant.¹⁴ But the relation between the two monuments is even much closer.

One of the fairly well preserved scenes of the fresco (Fig. 42) is that of the killing of Lycaon. With weakened knees and both

hands outstretched, just as Homer describes him in Book XXI, this son of Priam is depicted at the moment in which Achilles grasps his raised left arm and is about to smite him upon the collarbone beside the neck, while Scamander, the aged river god, watches as a leisurely onlooker. In the Iliac tablet of the Capitoline Museum the frieze containing scenes from Book XXI begins with the same episode in very much the same compositional scheme (Fig. 43): Lycaon, likewise seen in frontal view, has sunk to his knees and his raised left arm is grasped by Achilles who is just about to kill him. This action is so specific that, in spite of a somewhat different pose of Achilles in the tablet where he seems to drag Lycaon in the opposite direction, we seem to move, nevertheless, within the same recension,¹⁵ and this is confirmed by a few other scenes in which there exists an iconographical correspondence between the fresco and the Iliac tablets.¹⁶ With the fresco cycle, that belongs to the first century B.C., we come a bit closer in time to the common archetype from which also the Iliac tablets and the Milan miniatures descend. Besides, the very high quality of the frescoes at least suggests — though this cannot be substantiated — that the first inventors of the miniature archetype were already capable of rendering the epic content somewhat more vividly and forcefully than the artistically rather weak craftsmen of the Iliac tablets.

But even if our theory proves to be correct that the Milan miniatures, the Iliac tablets, and also the frieze from the Casa del Criptoportico belong all to the same recension, we should, nevertheless, not be misled into assuming that there existed only *one* recension of an extensive narrative Iliad cycle. Actually we have the evidence of at least one other recension which is represented by the so-called Megarian bowls. This vast group of hemispherical terra-cotta bowls that belong to the Hellenistic period and have variously been dated between the third and first cen-

tury B.C.¹⁷ includes quite a number with literary subjects, foremost from Homer. Carl Robert, therefore, termed them "Homerische Becher,"¹⁸ though we shall see later on that this term is far too narrow. One such cup in Berlin (Fig. 44)¹⁹ depicts the same scene from Book XXI, but in a totally different way: Achilles, in heavy armor, attacks with his lance, while Lycaon, being naked, steps forth from the reeds of the river Scamander, brandishing a short sword. This is not quite in agreement with Homer, and yet an inscription insures the correct interpretation of this scene. Neither the combating heroes nor the river god, seated in profile, have any relation to the types represented on the Iliac tablet and the fresco from Pompeii. As in textual criticism it would, of course, be hazardous to base the notion of two different recensions on such a single instance, for only a plurality of cases can decide the issue. Yet there exist a few more cases where the Homeric cups and the Iliac tablets do illustrate the same verse and in each case the picture shows quite a different compositional scheme.²⁰

Admittedly, this Berlin cup is not the most suitable to demonstrate the close dependence of the Megarian bowls on illustrated manuscripts. Although the conciseness and literal accuracy speak in favor of it, one of the most important features is here missing: the dense sequence of phases of one and the same episode. The three scenes of the Berlin cup belong to three different but consecutive books of the Iliad: Book XIX is represented by Agamemnon's attempt to incite Achilles to fight; Book XX by Achilles' pursuit of Aeneas; and finally Book XXI by the Lycaon scene. Yet, there are other Megarian bowls, especially some with scenes from the *Odyssey* which possess, vice versa, the most remarkable density of phases of one episode and thus reveal, within this very group of monuments, this most characteristic feature of book illumination better than almost any other monument from classical antiquity.

ODYSSEY

One cup with scenes from the *Odyssey* (Fig. 45) ²¹ depicts from the 22nd book three episodes of the unfaithful goatherd Melanthius who in the first is fettered by Eumaeus and Philoetius, then hanged upside down, while in the third Odysseus and Telemachus, under the protection of Athena, attack and pursue the wooers. It must be made clear that these three scenes cover only about 75 verses. Moreover it will be noticed that they are accompanied by several lines of the actual Homer text so that the scenes actually seem to be placed within writing columns. This is a very unusual feature for relief terra cotta, but most natural for illustrated rolls and hence another strong evidence for the dependence of the former on the latter. Moreover, there exists still another cup with three more scenes from the same 22nd book,²² and they likewise cover only 75 verses. On this scale about eight cups would be needed to illustrate only one book of the *Odyssey* with about 24 scenes. A fair calculation of the picture cycle of a whole *Odyssey* would result in the reconstruction of an archetype with many hundreds of scenes, not essentially different in extent from the one we calculated for a full *Iliad* on the basis of the Iliac tablets. It is very improbable that such a cycle was ever copied in full on these bowls. The terra-cotta artists apparently chose only sections from the enormous miniature cycles, and thus the chances to reconstruct the archetype on the basis of these bowls with anything close to completeness are very slim indeed.

After the Megarian bowls, our next important group of monuments is the Iliac tablets on which scenes from the *Odyssey* appear — just as in the *Iliad* cycles — in two forms: either the artist tries to cover within the limited surface of a tablet the whole epos, in which case he has to epitomize,²³ or he confines himself, just as was done in the Megarian bowls, to only one section of a larger cycle, if he wants to adhere to the original

dense sequence of scenes. This second principle, much more revealing with regard to the miniature model, is represented by a tablet, formerly in the Rondanini collection (Fig. 46) ²⁴ which depicts the Circe episode in three phases, covering about 100 verses of the 10th book: first, Hermes gives to Odysseus the moly to make him immune; then follows Odysseus' threat to kill Circe unless she disenchant his companions; and finally there follows the disenchantment proper. These scenes have maintained the character of individual miniatures, although they are rather superficially united by a frame-like architecture. It would be an easy matter to reinstate the scenes into the writing columns of papyrus rolls along the same line as our *Iliad* reconstruction (Text fig. A), and such a roll, consisting of only the 10th book, quite assuredly must also have included the episode of Aeolus with the wallet of the winds and the adventure with the Lastrygonians in several phases. Thus it becomes apparent that the *Odyssey*, if perhaps not as frequently as the *Iliad*, was nevertheless illustrated on a similar scale with hundreds of scenes.

CYPRIA

It is peculiar to both groups of monuments, Megarian bowls and Iliac tablets, that their picture cycles are not confined to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but also include scenes in narrative fashion from other epic poems. If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* scenes are derived, as we have tried to demonstrate, from illustrated books, then, by analogy, one would also postulate for the other epic poems a dependence on miniature cycles. It is known that in the Hellenistic period, in connection with the organization of the Alexandrian library,²⁵ Greek epic poems were collected and brought into chronological order in the so-called "epic cycle" (κύκλος ἐπικός) for which our chief information is Proclus, the Neoplatonic of the fifth century, who in his *Chrestomathy* has

left us short summaries.²⁶ Out of a total of twelve poems in this cycle, eight, including the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, form the smaller unit of the "Trojan cycle" of which the *Cypria*, the first one, is arranged as ante-Homeric, that is, pre-*Iliad*, while the other five are post-Homeric, or post-*Iliad*. Now, this very same order is observed in the Iliac tablets, most clearly demonstrable in the most complex one in the Capitoline Museum,²⁷ and there can be no doubt that they depend on the epic cycle. In dealing with its illustrations one has, of course, to realize that not a single poem, besides the Homeric ones, is preserved and that consequently the identification of some of the non-Homeric scenes will, at times, meet difficulties where the literary remains are too fragmentary. Vice versa, such scenes can on occasion be of primary importance for the reconstruction of the literary outline of the plot where their identification is assured by accompanying inscriptions.

Leaving aside the *Gigantomachy* and the three poems of the Theban cycle — for the illustration of which there is some, though meager, evidence²⁸ — the first poem to be considered is the *Cypria*, written, according to Athenaeus, either by Hegeias or Stasinus. There is in Paris a fragment of an Iliac tablet (Fig. 47)²⁹ similar to the one in the Capitoline Museum whose top frieze shows, at the right, the beginning of the first book of the *Iliad* with the supplicating Chryses before Agamemnon while the ransom is unloaded. However, preceding this scene are two more whose content is quite clear as a result of the accompanying inscriptions: in the first Diomedes and Achilles sit in the assembly and distribute spoils, and in the second the fettered Chryses is led away by a soldier to be taken to Agamemnon. From the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus we infer that these two events took place at the very end of the *Cypria*³⁰ and thus they lead us to the very point where the *Iliad* begins. In all likelihood, then, these two scenes hark back to a scroll that contained the 11th and last book of the *Cypria*, and probably they were close to its

end while earlier parts presumably included representations of the popular Troilus episode in several phases. The artist of the Iliac tablet, extremely restricted by the available surface area, depicted just enough of the end of the *Cypria* to make clear to the beholder where to turn for more textual and pictorial information concerning the events preceding the *Iliad*.

A scholion to the *Iliad* states that "Helen had previously been carried off by Theseus . . ." and then adds that "the story was in the Cyclic writers," meaning obviously the *Cypria*.³¹ A Megarian bowl from Tanagra, now in Athens (Fig. 48)³² depicts this very subject of the carrying-off of Helen by Theseus, while Peirithous acts as charioteer, first to the city of Corinth, and then, in a second scene, in which the friends are on foot, to the city of Athens. These scenes have all the characteristics of a section out of a larger cycle that illustrated this very episode in consecutive phases. Moreover, there are five verses written above the first scene, so that it actually seems to stand as in a manuscript in a writing column in very much the same way in which scenes of the Melanthius adventure in the Berlin bowl (Fig. 45) are associated with actual verses of the 22nd book of the *Odyssey*. The only question that remains to be solved is whether the text of the Athens bowl, very much rubbed off in the first place, really is that of the *Cypria*. It cannot be proved, but in view of the fact that several Megarian bowls give the titles of poems of the epic cycle, it has the highest degree of probability.

AETHIOPIS

Proclus in his *Chrestomathy* goes on to say: "The *Cypria*, described in the preceding book, has its sequel in the *Iliad* of Homer which is followed in turn by the five books of the *Aethiopis*, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. Their contents are as follows: The Amazon Penthesilea . . . comes to aid the Trojans. . . ." ³³ If, therefore, on a Megarian bowl in Berlin (Fig.

49) ³⁴ a scene from the last book of the *Iliad*, in which Priam begs Achilles for the corpse of Hector, is followed by a representation of the arrival of Penthesilea in Troy, there can be little doubt regarding the dependence of the Megarian bowl on the "epic cycle." Here is a linking of the *Iliad* with the following post-Homeric epic poem similar to that of the Iliac tablet in Paris (Fig. 47) with the pre-Homeric *Cypria*. If the several lines of rubbed writing above the handshake of Priam and Penthesilea in front of Hector's tomb could be read, they most likely would turn out to be from the *Aethiopis*, the first book of which started out, as Proclus tells us, with the episode of the Amazons. The third scene depicts the fight of Achilles against Penthesilea which in the poem must have followed fairly soon after the arrival of the Amazons.

There are also several scenes from the *Aethiopis* on the Iliac tablets and, fortunately, Penthesilea's arrival at Troy is among them. A fragmentary plaque in the collection Thierry, found at Tivoli (Fig. 50) ³⁵ represents in an upper strip a badly damaged scene in which a figure in a short tunic, surely Penthesilea leading a horse, is shaking hands with a person in a long garment who can be none other than Priam.³⁶ They shake hands, not as a sign of mere greeting but of making an oath which seals their alliance.

Our identification of the scene on the Thierry tablet is based primarily on its very close similarity to that on the lid of a sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese (Fig. 51a).³⁷ Here we see Penthesilea leading a horse in very much the same pose, though seen from the back, while shaking hands with Priam, the aged king in a long mantle. The similarity between the Iliac tablet and the lid of the sarcophagus is, indeed, so close that the two monuments must be considered as belonging to the same recension and, thus, as deriving from a common archetype. If, as has been argued repeatedly, the Iliac tablets hark back ultimately to an illustrated papyrus roll, then the same would have

to be applied to certain groups of sarcophagi, and this brings a new and vast group of Roman monuments into the orbit of reflections from book illumination. Of course, this does not mean that every sarcophagus with a literary subject must be derived from illustrated books; monumental painting, relief sculpture, and statues alike served as models. At the same time, it is not fortuitous that the connection with book illumination can best be demonstrated on lids of sarcophagi, since here the scale of the miniature did not need to be changed very much, and the narrow frieze-band permitted a lining up of several phases of an episode without the condensations, fusions, and other compositional changes that became necessary on the troughs.

Penthesilea's arrival is followed on the lid by two more scenes (Fig. 51b): the consoling of Andromache, who holds the ashes of Hector in her lap, by Paris, and the preparation of the Amazons for the battle. None of these scenes is mentioned by Proclus or anywhere else, and thus we have here a case where the pictures are a primary source, not only for the reconstruction of the picture cycle, but its literary source as well. At the left of Penthesilea's arrival (Fig. 51a) we see once more Andromache lamenting and holding the little boy Astyanax in her lap while Hecuba approaches from behind, presumably bringing the news of Penthesilea's arrival. The very end of Book XXIV of the *Iliad* does contain Andromache's lament, but here she holds Hector's head in her hands (verse 724) and not Astyanax. Rather than thinking of an alteration of an *Iliad* scene by the artist of the sarcophagus, it seems more probable that this is the initial scene of the *Aethiopis* and also in this case a representation of a text passage no longer in existence.

Still another picture of the arrival of Penthesilea is included in the *Iliad* frieze of the Casa del Criptoportico in Pompeii (Fig. 52).³⁸ Of Priam only the Greek inscription is preserved, but Penthesilea, likewise inscribed in Greek, is depicted stepping forward with the horse behind her in so much the same com-

positional scheme as in the Iliac tablet and the Borghese sarcophagus — except that she is given in mirror reversal — that the fresco must be considered as one more copy of the same recension.

Comparisons between the various scenes of Penthesilea's arrival lead to the conclusion that two different recensions are involved: one represented by the Megarian bowl which depicts Penthesilea without the horse but with the tomb of Hector, and the other by the Iliac tablet, the sarcophagus lid, and the Pompeian fresco, all of which show Penthesilea with her horse but without Hector's tomb. This result is in thorough agreement with that established on the basis of the *Iliad* illustrations, where, to recall the scene of Achilles' fighting Lycaon, the Megarian bowl (Fig. 44) likewise stood alone against the Iliac tablet (Fig. 43) and the fresco of the Casa del Criptoportico (Fig. 42).

LITTLE ILIAD

In dealing with the next two epic poems — the *Little Iliad*, written in four books by Lesches of Mytilene as Proclus tells us, and the *Iliupersis* — there exists, besides the loss of the original texts, the additional difficulty that they seem to have overlapped in several episodes. But fortunately in both major groups of monuments, the Megarian bowls and the Iliac tablets, the titles of the poems are usually inscribed in order to leave the beholder in no doubt as to which illustrated literary source was used by the copyist. The Berlin Museum possesses one of the artistically most impressive bowls (Fig. 53) ³⁹ which is very explicitly inscribed: KATA ΠΟΙΗΤΗΝ ΛΕΣΧΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΙΚΡΑΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ and decorated with two scenes of breath-taking vividness of action. They illustrate the death of Priam in accordance with the résumé which Pausanias (X.25.5) gives us of Lesches' poem.⁴⁰ In the first, Neoptolemus has entered the palace and, with his long spear, is attacking Priam who has taken refuge at the altar

of Zeus Herceius, while in the second he actually kills him after having him dragged away from the altar. These two phases follow each other at a very short time interval so that the cinematographic element, which we have repeatedly stressed as being typical of book illumination, is particularly evident.

Unfortunately, the death of Priam is not found on the Iliac tablets among their cycle from the *Little Iliad*; therefore, one can only surmise that, in analogy to what has been said about the illustrations of Homer's *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis*, the bowls represent also in this case a recension different from that of the Iliac tablets. As for the latter, the evidence for the *Little Iliad* rests solely on the great tablet in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 56)⁴¹ where the strip at the very bottom of the middle section is reserved for an epitomized cycle the title of which is explicitly stated on the plaque: ΙΛΙΑΣ ΜΙΚΡΑ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΣΣΧΗΝ ΙΙΤΡΡΑΙΟΝ. The center of this narrow strip is occupied by what must already in ancient times have been regarded as the most popular scene of this epic poem: the hauling in of the wooden horse. Mounted like a toy horse on a wooden base that surely was meant to be moved on wheels, the Trojans are eagerly bringing in the horse by pulling a rope.

Quite a similar toy horse, out of scale and drawn in quite a similar manner by a group of Trojans using a rope, is found on the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in Oxford (Fig. 54),⁴² and this similarity proves, as in the preceding example (Figs. 50, 51), that the Iliac tablets and the Roman sarcophagi go together in their iconography, in other words, belong to the same recension. Moreover, on the lid of the sarcophagus the horse scene is followed by another, left out in the Iliac tablet, in which — as hinted at in Proclus' summary⁴³ — the banqueting Trojans are surprised and killed by the Achaeans, while, vice versa, there was no space for some of the scenes which do occur on the tablet. This clearly indicates that the original cycle is epitomized in both monuments, and that, in trying to reconstruct it to the

fullest possible extent, all monuments related to this particular recension — and this includes not only the tablets and the sarcophagi — must be collected and their scenes be corroborated into a plausible narrative sequence.

To collect the pertinent material one has to search throughout the Hellenistic-Roman empire and even beyond. There is, for example, a Gandhara relief of the second century A.D. (Fig. 55)⁴⁴ which depicts a certain phase of the wooden horse story, although it seems doubtful whether the Indian copyist was still aware of the meaning of the scene. The undersized toy horse on wheels is quite similar to that on the Iliac tablet and the sarcophagus, and the Cassandra with her arms thrown up and standing in the Scaean Gate, also has her parallel in the Iliac tablet at the right end of the frieze, though in the Gandhara relief she is depicted in frontal view and indianized. While one man, most likely Sinon, the traitor, is pushing the wooden horse, Laocoon, who had opposed the bringing in of the horse, thrusts his spear into the horse's side. We know about this action of Laocoon from Virgil's *Aeneid* (II, 50), but, quite likely it was also told in the *Little Iliad* on which Virgil heavily bases his tale of the Sack of Ilium. On an illustrated copy of the *Little Iliad*, as we shall see later (Fig. 68), the illustrators of the *Aeneid* were apparently dependent as far as the events of the Trojan War are concerned. However this may be, the Gandhara relief depicts a particular phase of the wooden horse episode to which no parallel seems to exist in Greco-Roman art so that it has its role to play in the reconstruction of the archetype of the *Little Iliad*.

ILIUPERSIS

Of the next epic poem, the *Iliupersis*, we have two traditions. Proclus tells us that a poem of this title in two books was written by Arctinus of Miletus, the author of the *Aethiopis*, whereas

the Iliac tablet in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 56) gives Stesichorus as author. In this tablet the Sack of Ilium takes the most central position, and within the large area reserved for it the focal point is occupied by the group of Aeneas fleeing with Anchises and Ascanius. To give such a prominent position to the founder of Lavinium can only mean that the tablets were made for Roman consumption. But this emphasis is the outcome solely of the arrangement of the scenes by the manufacturer of the tablet, and quite likely was not marked in the narrative cycle that had served as model. While the enclosing wall of Troy gives the impression of a unified, symmetrical composition, a closer view reveals that the city wall is but a frame for three, spatially unrelated, superimposed strips, each of which is filled with small, precise scenes illustrating specific events. They could easily be reinstated into fairly narrow writing columns, and in this point they are not different from the scenes of the *Iliad*, the *Aethiopis*, and the *Little Iliad* on the same tablet. If we cannot identify each scene today, this is mainly due to the lack of accompanying inscriptions; but even so, some are quite clear. There is in the uppermost strip the opening of the wooden horse from which the Achaeans descend, and, above, Aias is trying to drag away Cassandra from the Temple of Athena. According to Proclus she is supposed to embrace an idol of Athena, but, probably for reasons of minute scale, this detail is omitted.⁴⁵

As for the Megarian bowls, our evidence for an illustrated *Iliupersis* is based on a rather mediocre cup of the so-called "stamped class" (Fig. 57).⁴⁶ Even so, some of its features can clearly be associated with three different phases of the *Iliupersis*: the figure of Sinon who, as a sign of his treachery, swings a torch; the Achaeans who descend from the wooden horse; and, between, Aias who in front of the Temple of Athena is dragging Cassandra away from the statue of Athena which she is embracing. By comparing this last scene with its parallel on the Iliac tablet, it becomes immediately obvious that the type of

Cassandra is totally different in both cases: kneeling in profile in the tablet, and upright and embracing the statue in a pose of a *figura serpentinata* in the bowl.⁴⁷ This is yet another confirmation that the Megarian bowls and the Iliac tablets, with regard not only to the *Iliad* but to the other poems of the epic cycle as well, belong to different recensions.

In this short survey there is no room for a detailed discussion as to the regions or localities in which the archetypes of these two recensions may have originated. For the time being, until more concise and more appropriate terms are found, it may suffice to speak of a "bowl-recension" and a "tablet-recension," although the latter term, obviously, is too narrow since this second recension also includes sarcophagi and frescoes on a considerable scale. Yet the tablets are the most consistent group and the one closest to the miniature models. Only with a certain reservation and merely as a working basis could one venture to use terms with a geographical connotation. Since most of the literary bowls were found on the Greek mainland, one might equate the "bowl-recension" with a "Grecian-recension," and as for the "tablet-recension" one might use the term "Alexandrian-Roman recension" as an equivalent which would suggest that the mostly Roman monuments forming this group are ultimately derived from Alexandrian prototypes. It might be recalled that the Munich papyrus (Fig. 37) comes from Egypt and that there is a good chance that the Milan *Iliad* fragments (Figs. 38, 39, 41) originated in Alexandria.⁴⁸

NOSTOI

"After the Sack of Ilium follow the *Returns* in five books by Agias of Troezen," says Proclus.⁴⁹ But this poem apparently never enjoyed a great popularity, and there are very few reflections of the events told in this poem known to exist in the representational arts. All the more important, therefore, is a

Megarian bowl in Berlin (Fig. 58) ⁵⁰ with three phases of a single episode which, as so frequently on these bowls, have the character of a section of a larger cycle. The first of these highly dramatic compositions depicts Aegisthus as he attacks and kills Agamemnon, while Cassandra, in between the two, is tearing her hair in utter despair; in the second, at the right, Antiochus and Argeius attack Alcmeon and Nestor, Agamemnon's companions, a scene of obviously secondary importance which is known only through this cup and its inscriptions; and finally, at the left, we see Clytemnestra, killing Cassandra over the dead body of Agamemnon. These three consecutive phases, thus, unroll before our eyes the story of the tragic end of Agamemnon of which Proclus only says in terse words, "Then comes the murder of Agamemnon by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra." That our bowl, indeed, harks back to the poem under consideration is proved by the fragmentary but correctly restored inscription of the title: EK TΩN [NO]ΣTΩN AXA[I]ΩN [KATA TON ΠΟΙΗΤΗΝ] A[ΓΙΑΝ].

There are no scenes from the *Nostoi* known to us on the Iliac tablets. Yet it would, in our opinion, be premature to conclude that the *Returns* existed only in the "bowl-recension" and not in the "tablet recension." Even less popular seems to have been the last of the epic poems of the Trojan cycle, the *Telegony*, which contained the killing of Odysseus by his own son Telegonus, written in two books by Eugammon of Cyrene as Proclus tells us. Of its illustration we have no trace either on the bowls or on the tablets; nor, to my knowledge, has a scene been identified from this poem anywhere else in Greco-Roman art. Even so, the overwhelming evidence points, in our opinion, to a full illustration of the entire κύκλος ἐπικός in papyrus rolls of which, as is to be expected, the evidence is most conclusive for the Homeric poems which, to repeat this once more, were the most widely read and most often illustrated texts in classical antiquity.

HERACLEIA

If our theory is correct that the Homeric bowls reflect sections of extensive narrative cycles which originated in illustrated rolls, then one would also have to examine other bowls of the same literary group that have subjects other than those derived from the epic cycle from the same point of view of a possible dependence on book illumination.

There are, for example, three bowls in existence which deal with the deeds of Heracles⁵¹ and the suggestion has been made by scholars like Robert and Rostovtzeff that they, like the Homeric bowls proper, depend on a miniature cycle of a Heracles poem. Of some of these poems we know the names of the authors, like Peisandros of Kameiros and Panyassis of Halicarnassus who wrote in the sixth century B.C.; and Rhianos, Diotimos, Pheidimos, and Peisinos who belong to the Hellenistic period. An ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους is connected with the name of Matris of Thebes. None of these poems, however, has survived so that any attempt to relate a pictorial cycle with a specific piece of writing will not be possible, unless we find some day a bowl or tablet which, in analogy to the other monuments of these groups, has a specific title.

At the same time a clear distinction must be made among the three cups with regard to their dependence on a literary source. Two of them show part of the traditional dodecathlos, in which each individual deed is represented by a single picture. This type of dodecathlos cycle has a long history,⁵² antedating the introduction of book illumination, and consequently there is no reason at all to connect it with miniature painting. The third bowl, however, now in the Louvre (Fig. 60),⁵³ is different. Inscribed ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ ΑΘΛΟΣ, it depicts the carrying away of the Erymanthian boar, a scene neither preceded nor followed by another deed, but the remaining surface area is filled with a representation of the manufacturing of Heracles' club in two con-

secutive phases: first it is forged by Hephaestus and, then, it is handed over to Heracles by Athena. Only this Louvre cup, because of its extended narrative, can in our opinion be introduced as evidence for a Heracles cycle that depends on an illustrated manuscript.

By immediately assuming, wherever any extended narrative picture cycles are found, the existence of lost illustrated rolls, is one not perhaps moving a little too far away from the basis, the illustrated *Iliad* for which the evidence seemed most conclusive? Perhaps the luckiest find in recent years which fully vindicates the assumption of an illustrated Heracles poem in particular, is a third-century papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus, now in Oxford (Fig. 59),⁵⁴ which consists of remnants of three writing columns whose text in iambic trimeter deals exclusively with the first deed, the fight with the Nemean lion. The writing is interrupted by three sketchy, frameless drawings, all of which relate to the first deed alone. In the fight proper, the second scene, Heracles presses the lion's head under his armpit, in a familiar iconographical scheme; while in the first, if our interpretation is correct, Heracles pursues the lion into the cleft of a mountain, and in the third holds the lion's skin in his hands. There is every reason to believe that the roll, when complete, had more such illustrations, arranged in the typical papyrus style. This Oxyrhynchus fragment gives the most direct impression of the physical appearance of an illustrated literary papyrus of the very kind envisioned wherever an illustrated roll is assumed as model.

Another source for the reconstruction of illustrated literary papyri, already extensively used in connection with scientific treatises, consists of illustrated codices of later periods which still reflect the tradition of papyrus rolls. One important and already familiar manuscript (Figs. 31–34) is the eleventh-century *Cynegetica* codex in Venice which, in addition to its didactic hunting and other animal pictures, contains a series of mythologi-

cal pictures which cannot fully be explained by the Pseudo-*Oppian* text and therefore must have originated in some other text from which they were taken over not before the time of the Macedonian renaissance.⁵⁵ One of them represents Heracles driving away the kine of Geryon (Fig. 61) ⁵⁶ in a compositional scheme that can be traced back to ancient coins ⁵⁷ and, thus, has a sure classical ancestry. Moreover, there are *putti* around, one fleeing, another crawling into a vessel, and two more playing with a quiver. They are the *putti* who in certain Pompeian frescoes ⁵⁸ play with the arms of Heracles who, at the court of Omphale, lies inebriated on the ground. The Pseudo-*Oppian* miniature is thus made up from at least two scenes from the life of Heracles whose elements were combined in a rather playful manner but, just the same, presuppose the existence of a larger cycle of Heracles miniatures in classical antiquity.

ACHILLEIS

Since the Heracles papyrus from Oxyrhynchus provides incontestable proof that poems other than those of the κύκλος ἐπικός were illustrated with narrative cycles, we are encouraged to search in still others, written around the life and deeds of a venerated god or hero for the evidence of narrative picture cycles that stem from illustrated manuscripts. One of the heroes whose popularity, in the Hellenistic-Roman period, rivals Heracles' is Achilles. Poets, not satisfied with the stories of his exploits as told in Homer's *Iliad*, rounded out his biography by going into details about his infancy, education, and upbringing at the court of Lycomedes before describing his part in the Trojan War. The only poem of this kind which has survived is the Latin *Achilleis* of Statius which was left unfinished; but, chiefly on the evidence of the pictorial tradition in Greek monuments, we would surmise that there must have existed also a Greek *Achilleis* after which Statius modeled his. Besides, more than any other hero or god, Achilles as a virtuous hero remained

popular even in Christian times, and this is reflected also in the arts. I should like to confine myself to a discussion of the scenes of Achilles' infancy, introducing five different categories of monuments which reach from the Roman period down to the Middle Ages. All of them belong, as will be seen, to the same picture recension, suggesting once more a common archetype in the form of an illustrated manuscript.

A triumphal chariot in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the so-called "Tensa Capitolina" which has been ascribed to the end of the second or the third century,⁵⁹ has a biographical cycle of twelve scenes in bronze reliefs from the life of Achilles, four of which deal with the infancy: (1) Thetis (Fig. 62a), in a kneeling position, dips the child Achilles head down into the waters of the Styx in the presence of two personifications, one surely being the river Styx (Stat. I, 134, 269, 489); in a second (Fig. 62b), Chiron, the centaur, who has been charged with Achilles' education, is presenting the child to his father Peleus when he arrives in the Argo (Apoll.Rhod. I, 553 where, however, Chiron's wife does the presenting); then follows a scene (Fig. 62c) in which Chiron teaches his young pupil the playing of the lyre (Stat. I, 185); and finally we see Achilles, riding on the centaur's back, hunting a bear (Stat. I, 116). The first question to be answered is whether the Achilles scenes of the Tensa were created as a fixed set of twelve, like the dodecathlos of Heracles, or whether they are a selection from a larger cycle. A precise answer can be given by comparing the Tensa with the next cycle.

Likewise in the Palazzo dei Conservatori there is a circular marble slab of about the fourth century (Fig. 63a-b)⁶⁰ which belongs to a group of monuments attributed, with good reasons, to Alexandria.⁶¹ A continuous frieze around the rim encompasses in eight scenes the life of Achilles from birth to death. Half of them deal with the infancy, and this strong emphasis on the early childhood rather than on the heroic exploits is true of all

cycles we are going to discuss. Surely Achilles' infancy is of no greater importance than his later life. This seemingly unbalanced picture biography is most easily explained by the working method of the copyists who began to excerpt an extensive model more fully at the beginning and, then, realizing that they could not continue on the same scale, turned to a more widely spaced sequence of scenes toward the end.⁶²

The second scene of the marble frieze (Fig. 63a) depicts the baptism in the Styx with Thetis holding the babe Achilles head down in a composition so similar to that of the Tensa that a common archetype must be assumed. Now, in the marble rim the baptism scene is preceded by a representation of Achilles' birth where Thetis sits on the bed — indicating probably that a goddess gives birth painlessly — and watches the washing of the newborn babe by a midwife. This scene is not in the cycle of the Tensa, thus proving that the cycle of the latter has omissions. But so has the marble disk which in turn does not have the showing of the boy by Chiron to Peleus. Instead it has a scene (Fig. 63b), in time preceding the latter, where Thetis hands over the boy to Chiron who joyfully takes him in his care in order to give him an education in music, hunting, and gymnastics. These boyhood exercises must have been represented in the archetype in so many phases that most copyists were satisfied with a selection: the Tensa has the teaching of the lyre and the hunting of a bear (Fig. 62c), while the marble disk confines itself to the hunting of a lion. Thus with only the baptism in common in this section of the cycle, the two monuments corroborated have no less than seven infancy scenes.

From the fifth century, a period when the classical tradition begins to weaken, there are a few fragments of Egyptian red pottery, one of which, in a private collection in Alexandria (Fig. 64),⁶³ shows only the beginning and not the whole infancy cycle. First, Achilles' birth is depicted with Thetis not seated but lying on the couch, while a maidservant is fanning

her. This composition rather resembles a biblical birth scene, and since this so-called "Late A-ware" ⁶⁴ includes also Christian subject matters, one must reckon with an actual, retroactive influence of a biblical upon a classical scene. In such a case some doubts might arise as to whether one moves within the same recension, were it not that the next scene of the baptism in the Styx agrees so much with both previous examples (Figs. 62a, 63a) that doubts about a common recension are again dispelled. The third scene, in which Thetis brings Achilles to Chiron, is still another case of the impact of a biblical scene. Thetis is not handing over the child, but leading him by the hand—in the same way as, for example, in an illustrated Byzantine *Books of Kings* Hannah leads the little child Samuel into the Temple to Eli for education.

Another fragment from a similar plate in the museum of Constantine in Algiers (Fig. 65) ⁶⁵ depicts additional scenes from what is obviously the same Achilles cycle. Here are two phases of the youthful hero's physical training by Chiron: his exercise in throwing the discus while Chiron jumps ahead and directs him, and his hunting of a panther while he rides on his master's back. The latter is obviously a variant of the same type of hunt as that of the bear and the lion (Figs. 62c, 63b), so that, once more, one gets the impression of moving within the same recension. With five identifiable scenes, and one or more lost between the two fragments which do not join, this terra-cotta plate has, as a matter of fact, the most extensive infancy cycle known so far; and, since the gymnastic and the hunting scenes in the fragment from Constantine have no parallels in the two preceding monuments, the number of iconographical units that were in the archetype increases from seven to nine.

The influence of biblical iconography increases in the next monument, a bronze plate in the Cairo museum with a circular frieze composition which may be as late as the seventh or eighth century (Fig. 66).⁶⁶ Of its six scenes, half are devoted to

Achilles' infancy. Omitting both the birth and the baptism in the Styx, it begins with Thetis introducing the child to Chiron. The type of the Centaur who leans with his left arm on a club resembles the one on the terra-cotta plate, and so does Thetis who, however, pushes the boy ahead rather than dragging him behind. But now Thetis is nimbed! Unique is the following scene which depicts the target practice of Achilles who is taught by Chiron to shoot arrows at a disk. Finally there is the hunting of the lion while riding on Chiron's back, a scene similar to the one on the marble disk (Fig. 63b), and thus confirming once more the thesis of a common recension.

Within the original medium of book illumination we have at least one stray miniature from Achilles' infancy in an eleventh-century manuscript in Jerusalem that contains the commentary of a certain Pseudo-Nonnus to some homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Fig. 67).⁶⁷ The paragraph on the Thessalian cave has an illustration of the boy Achilles riding on the back of Chiron, very much like the previous hunting scenes, but this time he is shooting deer instead of bear, lion, or panther. Yet, since Statius (II, 121 ff.) mentions the hunting also of does along with bears, lions, and tigers, this scene also fits perfectly into the infancy cycle out of which it was isolated in order to illustrate this paragraph in a mythological handbook. This, then, would be the eleventh scene of the archetype, and by no means completes the infancy cycle. There is evidence for still more scenes.⁶⁸

Such rich material provides, more than almost any other cycle discussed so far, an insight into the development and the morphological growth of an extensive narrative picture cycle in which altered and substituted compositions stand beside those which have changed very little or hardly at all. On these latter rests the proof of a common recension, and it must, once more, strongly be emphasized that in picture criticism as in text criticism the question of a common recension cannot rest on a single scene but only on a plurality of cases.

EPIC POETRY

In looking for the text in which the extensive cycle originated and of which the infancy scenes seen so far could only have been a fraction, it must be reiterated that it could not have been the *Achilleis* of Statius, the only epic poem of Achilles' life known today, since neither his birth nor his exploits are told in it. Moreover, in spite of the fact that some scholars⁶⁹ have stressed the Roman element in the cycle of the Tensa, it must be kept in mind that three of the five monuments discussed, the marble disk, the terra-cotta fragments, and the bronze plate, point to Egypt as the place of origin, and this brings Alexandria into focus as the possible place of origin of a lost Greek *Achilleis*.

AENEID

In reviewing the epic poems discussed so far — the κύκλος ἐπικός and the lost poems about Heracles and the life of Achilles — it should be noted that all were Greek. At the same time, many of the monuments here introduced as copies of Greek miniature models were Roman and were made on Italian soil, like the Iliac tablets, the Pompeian frescoes, and the Roman sarcophagi, although the former two have Greek inscriptions. This can only mean that the educated Roman preferred, on the whole, the Greek to his native Roman epic poems. Is it not indicative that in Pompeii there are three lengthy *Iliad*-friezes, but no comparable narrative cycles of the *Aeneid*? Yet there is evidence that Roman epic poems were illustrated in classical antiquity after all, and first of all the *Aeneid* which within Latin literature aspired to a position equal to that of Homer's poems, though it never reached their popularity.

Fortunately two manuscripts of the late classical period have survived which prove the existence of an illustrated *Aeneid* in Roman times. Both are in possession of the Vatican Library, and the more ancient one, from the early fifth century,⁷⁰ contains a fragmentary cycle of 41 miniatures which show many signs of

transformation and thus suggest an archetype considerably earlier than the present copy.⁷¹ The problem to which I should like to confine myself is whether the Romans started out entirely anew when they first illustrated the *Aeneid*, or whether they made, as far as possible, use of the older Greek tradition of epic illustration. In the second book, where Aeneas tells Dido the story of the Sack of Ilium, there are several miniatures which depict events told also in the *Little Iliad* and the *Iliupersis*. One of them (Fig. 68)⁷² shows the wooden horse on wheels standing within the city wall of Troy. The lid has just been opened, and a warrior is climbing out by means of a double rope. A comparison with the Iliac tablet in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 56) reveals that the identical moment is depicted: the opening of the horse by means of a lid, lifted upward, while a soldier emerges and is about to descend on a ladder, or perhaps also a rope ladder. This close parallel and others like the massacre of the banqueting Trojans who are lying on the ground on semicircular bolsters similarly as on Roman sarcophagi illustrating the *Little Iliad* (Fig. 54), permit a dual conclusion: first, that the illustrators of the *Aeneid* — at a time yet to be determined — did, indeed, use the illustrated poems of the epic cycle as models, and, second, that these models belonged to what we have termed the “tablet-recension,” or, tentatively, the “Alexandrian-Roman recension.” True enough, this one would have expected anyhow, since it was the more popular one on Italian soil.

The second manuscript, the so-called Virgilius Romanus from the fifth or sixth century,⁷³ contains fewer pictures, but full-page ones only, thus indicating a further step in the direction of turning smaller narrative scenes into more panel-like paintings. Does this manuscript belong to the same recension as the earlier Virgil? Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory answer, because of the eleven full-page *Aeneid* miniatures not a single one illustrates the same passage as any of the forty-one miniatures in the earlier manuscript. Yet, theoretically speaking, they could hark

back to the same fuller archetype from which each copyist made a different choice. Besides there may have existed parallel scenes in the earlier manuscript, now cut out, since the losses in the once fuller miniature cycle are very considerable. The Virgilius Romanus also contains a scene from the Trojan War in Book II (Fig. 69) in which the fettered Sinon is facing Priam before the walls of Troy, while Hecuba looks down at him from above the crenellated wall, and the wooden horse is standing behind Sinon's back. The same episode occurs also in the Iliac tablet (Fig. 56 at the lower right corner), but here a later phase seems to be depicted, so that also this comparison does not shed any light on the problem as to whether the two manuscripts represent the same or two different recensions.

The *Aeneid* remained one of the most popular texts throughout the Middle Ages and it is, therefore, not surprising to find an illustrated copy from as late as the tenth century. To this period must be ascribed an Italian manuscript now in Naples⁷⁴ which is not of high quality and has only a few small scenic compositions. The introductory miniature to Book XII, for example (Fig. 70), depicts the fight of Aeneas against Turnus, in which the former, on a parading horse, pierces the defeated enemy, trampled underfoot, with his lance. Although there is no illustration to the last book of the *Aeneid* in any of the two earlier Vatican codices which would permit an iconographic comparison, the compositional scheme, stressing the victor and the vanquished in such a symbolic way, is typical of late classical art. In spite of changes in the costume and the harness, this miniature still stands in the tradition of classical Virgil illustration, although one has the feeling that this tradition is rapidly fading.

About two centuries later the classical pictorial tradition in the Latin West has more or less ceased and given way to the creation of a new style and a new iconography. Toward the end of the twelfth century the German poet Heinrich of Veldeke composed an epic poem in middle high German, entitled "Eneide"

which is a paraphrase of Virgil's great poem, but at the same time he uses the language of contemporary knightly romances, and to this influence the poem owes its freshness and spontaneity. Likewise, the illustrator of an early thirteenth-century copy, made in Bavaria and now in Berlin,⁷⁵ was thoroughly independent of ancient Virgil miniatures when he conceived the Aeneas story — perhaps even more so than the poet himself — as a knightly romance. In the battle of Aeneas against Mezentius, followed by the killing of Lausus (Fig. 71) the Roman heroes are dressed in the knightly armor of the day, wearing helmets with closed visor. Heraldry had begun to develop and each knight has a coat of arms depicted on his shield and the high crest on the helmet. From the literary as well as artistic point of view, Heinrich von Veldeke's poem is, in reality, a chivalric romance.

The reconstruction of the history of the illustrated epic poem as presented in this sketch is, to emphasize this point strongly, only a first attempt. It is clear that as yet it is impossible to compile a precise list of all the epic poems illustrated in classical antiquity, and, considering the losses in the field of ancient papyri, it is unlikely that full evidence will ever be uncovered. Only that much can be said with a feeling of assurance that the *κύκλος ἐπικός* was prolifically illustrated in its entirety and that it took a preëminent position among the illustrated epic poems. The existence of an illustrated *Heracleia*, an *Achilleis*, and an *Aeneid* also seems firmly established on the basis of the documentary evidence. Moreover there are definite indications that there existed an illustrated *Dionysiaca*,⁷⁶ a *Theseis*,⁷⁷ and an illustrated *Argonautica* of Apollonios Rhodios,⁷⁸ to mention only a few. But which individual epic poems, besides those just mentioned, were illustrated in classical antiquity needs still to be investigated.

III

DRAMATIC POETRY

EURIPIDES

IN Oldfather's list of the literary papyri¹ the greatest number of fragments, after the 315 Homeric ones, are those of the writings of Demosthenes, numbering 51 — which, of course, were never illustrated — and, after that, Euripides with 32 fragments.² That these statistics do indeed reflect the general appreciation of Euripides as the greatest literary authority after Homer is supported by quotations in the ancient writers themselves. Charming Lucian, for example, lets Frankness, his mouthpiece in "The Dead Come to Life or The Fisherman," say to Plato: "Ah what wretched luck! Homer in whom I had my greatest hope is useless to me. I suppose I must take refuge with Euripides, perhaps he might save me."³

The great popularity of Euripides is attested also by the representational arts. As soon as vase painting in the fifth and especially the fourth century B.C. turned to literary sources for inspiration and illustrated them with greater precision than ever before, the dramas began to play almost as big a part as the epic poems, and among the dramas those of Euripides far outrank those of any other dramatist.⁴ In the Hellenistic period, especially on the Megarian bowls, illustrations of Euripides actually rival those of Homer and the epic cycle both in number and in diversity. In the Roman period Euripidean subjects outrank even

the epic ones on the sarcophagi and they play an important role also in a certain group of Pompeian wall paintings. Since the dramatic scenes on the Megarian bowls, the Roman sarcophagi, and Pompeian frescoes all show the very same kind of pictorial narrative as the epic ones, where a single episode was in many instances unrolled before our eyes in several consecutive phases, it seems only natural, indeed, to conclude that also in the case of the dramatic scenes illustrated papyrus rolls were the ultimate source.

But before starting to analyze these derivative monuments in relation to the postulated Euripidean miniature cycles in papyrus rolls, I should like to introduce an actual fragment of an illustrated dramatic papyrus which is today in Florence and contains a mere scrap of a New Comedy text of the first or second century A.D. (Fig. 72).⁵ The column of writing has been broken off by a sizable interstice, reserved for a miniature of which only a few traces are left, filled with reddish and pinkish white colors that do not permit a sensible interpretation. Insignificant and tantalizing as this fragmentary illustration is, it permits two far-reaching conclusions: being earlier than the third-century Heracles papyrus (Fig. 59) it proves the existence of illustrated literary texts as early as the first or second centuries, when the papyrus roll was still the dominant form; and it provides the incontestable evidence that dramatic texts were, indeed, illustrated in papyrus rolls in exactly the same manner as the epic poems, that is, by frameless pictures that were inserted in the writing columns wherever they were needed.

It seems proper to start the investigation of illustrated dramas of Euripides once more with the Megarian bowls which, as in the case of Homer, are not only our earliest monuments of dramatic illustration in the form of extended narrative picture cycles, but also the best documented ones on account of the inscribed titles on some of them. A bowl in Berlin, for example (Fig. 73),⁶ is explicitly inscribed ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ,

and the illustrations make it clear that the *Iphigenia at Aulis* is meant. There are five scenes, full of life and action, though tightly squeezed in the limited surface area of the bowl for which they were not obviously invented. Covering only the central part of the drama, they represent: ⁷ Iphigenia, after her arrival at Aulis, joyfully greeting her father Agamemnon while Clytemnestra follows with the little boy Orestes (v. 621ff.). There follows a discourse between Clytemnestra and Achilles in which she greets him, mistakenly, as her prospective son-in-law (v. 819f.), only to be informed, in the next scene, by an old faithful servant of Agamemnon's attempted deception (v. 866f.). In the meantime, Iphigenia has learned about her father's real intentions to have her sacrificed and now she pleads for her life in a very moving scene before the brooding Agamemnon (v. 1211f.); and finally, in a fifth scene, she is reconciled to her fate and refusing Achilles' help to have her life saved (v. 1338f.). All these concise scenes are so close to the Euripidean text that in each instance the exact line could be quoted.

In order to illustrate the whole drama with a similar spacing of scenes two more cups are required: one for the beginning and the other for the end of the drama. Fortunately, one of the missing bowls with the beginning of the drama was found, a few years ago, and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 74).⁸ It likewise contains five consecutive scenes of extraordinary liveliness: in the first, Agamemnon, overcome by remorse, sends a messenger to Clytemnestra in order to prevent Iphigenia's arrival (v. 111f.). Menelaus interferes and angrily snatches the letter from the servant (v. 303f.), while in the meantime a messenger hurries to announce the arrival of Iphigenia (v. 322f.).⁹ In the next scene of the actual arrival, Clytemnestra has already alighted from the two-wheeled cart and helps Iphigenia to descend while the little boy Orestes still crouches in the corner of the cart (v. 414f.); and finally Menelaus is depicted upbraiding Agamemnon for his attempt to prevent Iphigenia's sacrifice

ΛΗΔΑΣ ΜΕΝΕΙΜΙ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΛΥΤΑΙΝΗΝ ΗΣΤΡΑ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ
ΟΝΟΜΑ ΠΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΣΤΙΝ ΑΓΑΘΕΝ ΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΞ
ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΛΕΞΑΣ ΕΝ ΒΡΑΧΕΙ ΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΙΑ
ΑΙΣΧΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΞΙ ΣΥΜΒΑΛΛΕΙΝ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ



ΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΙ ΦΕΥΓΕΙΣ ΔΕΞΙΑΝ ΤΕ ΜΗ ΧΕΡΙ
ΣΥΝΑΨΟΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΝΥΜΦΕΥΝΑΤΩΝ
ΤΙ ΦΗΣ ΕΓΩ ΣΟΙ ΔΕΞΙΑΝ ΑΙΔΟΙ ΜΕΘΑΝ
ΑΓΑΘΕ ΜΗΝΟΝ ΕΥΑΝΘΙ ΜΕΝΩΝ ΜΗ ΜΟΙ ΘΕΜΙΣ
ΘΕΜΙΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΕΠΕΙ ΓΑΜΕΙΣ
ΠΑΙΔΩ ΘΕΑΣ ΠΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΣ ΝΗΡΗΙΔΟΣ
ΠΟΙΟΥΣ ΓΑΜΟΥΣ ΦΗΣ ΑΦΑΣΙΑ ΜΕΧΕΙ ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΕΙΜΗ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΡΓΕΙΣ ΛΟΓΟΝ
ΠΑΙΝ ΤΟΔ ΕΝ ΠΕΦΥΚΕΝ ΑΙΔΕΙΘΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΝΟΥΣ ΟΡΩΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΜΟΝ ΜΕΜΝΗ ΜΕΝΟΥΣ
ΟΥ ΠΩΠΟΤ ΕΜΗ ΗΣΤΕΥΣΑ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΣΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΟΥΔ ΕΞ ΑΤΡΕΙΔΩΝ ΗΛΘΕ ΜΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΓΑΜΩΝ
ΤΙ ΔΗΤΑΝ ΕΙΗ ΣΥ ΠΑΙΝ ΑΥΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΕΜΟΥΣ
ΘΑΥΜΑΞΕΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΕΣ ΤΙ ΤΑΠΟΣΟΝ
ΕΙΚΑΞΕ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΙΚΑΞΕΙΝ ΤΑΔΕ
ΑΜΦΩ ΓΑΡ ΟΝ ΨΕΥΔΟΜΕΘΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΙΩΩΣ
ΑΛΛ ΗΠΕΤΟΝΘΑ ΔΕΙΝΑ ΜΗ ΗΣΤΕΥΩ ΓΑΜΟΥΣ

ΟΝ ΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΩΣ ΕΙΞΑΣΙΝ ΑΙΔΟΝ ΜΑΙΤΑΔ Ε
ΙΩΩΣ ΕΚΕΡΤΟ ΜΗΣΕ ΚΑΘΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΤΙΣ
ΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΛΙΔΟΣ ΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΥΛΩΣ ΦΕΡΕ
ΧΑΙΡΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΡΘΟΥΣ ΟΥ ΜΑΣΙΝ ΣΕ ΤΕΙΣ ΟΡΩ
ΨΕΥΔΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΘΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΞΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΔ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΞΕΜΟΝ ΠΟΙΝ ΔΕ ΣΟΝ
ΣΤΕΙΧΩ ΜΑΤΕΥΣΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΣΩ
ΩΞΕΝ ΑΙΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΟΝ ΜΕΙΝΟΝ ΩΣ ΤΟΙ ΛΕΓΩ
ΤΟΝ ΘΕΑΣ ΓΕΓΩΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΛΗΔΑΣ ΚΟΡΗΝ
ΤΙΣ ΟΚΑΛΩΝ ΞΥΛΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΙΞΑΣ ΩΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΒΗΚΩΣ ΚΑΛΕΙ
ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΟΥΧ ΑΒΡΥΝΟΜΑΙ ΤΩΔ ΗΤΥΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΚ ΕΑ
ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΜΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΧΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΑΜΑ ΚΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΥΣ
ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΙΘΕΝ ΟΥΚΩΝ ΤΥΝ ΔΑΡΕΩΔΟΝΤΕ ΠΑΤΡΕ
ΕΣΤΑΜΕΝ ΦΡΑΞΕΙ ΤΙ ΧΡΗΞΕΙΣ ΩΝ ΜΕΠΕΣ ΧΕΣ ΕΙΝΕΚΑ
Η ΜΟΝΩ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΕ ΔΗΤΑ ΤΑΚΔ ΕΦΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΞΥΛΑΙΣ
ΩΣ ΜΟΝΟΥΣ ΛΕΓΟΥΣ ΑΝ ΕΞΩΔΕΛΘΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ
ΩΤΥΧΗ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΗΜΗ ΣΩΣΑΘΟΥΣ ΕΓΩ ΘΕΛΩ
ΟΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΕΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΑΝ ΟΙΣ ΕΙΧΡΟΝ ΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΔΟΓΚΟΥ ΤΙΝΑ
ΔΕΞΙΑΣ ΕΚΑΤΙΜΗ ΜΕΛΛΕΙ ΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΧΡΗΞΕΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ



ΟΙΘΑ ΔΗΤΑ ΜΟΤΙΣ ΩΝ ΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΥΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΕΦΥΝ
ΟΙΔΑ ΣΟΝ ΤΕΓΩ ΞΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΔΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ ΛΑΤΡΙΝ

FIGURE B. Reconstruction of an Iphigenia Roll of the Third Century B.C.

(v. 416f.). It must be remembered that the actual arrival of Iphigenia at the camp at Aulis does not take place on the stage, but is told to the audience in a typical messenger's report. The depiction of the content of such a messenger's report — and there are many more such examples that prove that we are not dealing with a special case but a common feature — can therefore only mean that the illustrations were not made under the impression of theatrical performances, but conceived in a scriptorium, in the same way as the illustrations of the epic poems and not improbably under their direct influence. Artistically speaking there is, in this early period at least, no basic difference between an epic and a dramatic illustration.

The third cup, with the end of the drama, has not yet been found, but its cycle can, in part, be reconstructed from two marble reliefs of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, each of which contains two additional scenes.¹⁰ Thus, with a total of fourteen scenes — ten from the two cups and four from the marble reliefs — a substantial part of the original miniature cycle can be reconstructed, and yet there is no way of knowing how many more scenes it might have had and to what extent the terra-cotta workers, who had the surface of three bowls at their disposal, already epitomized the original cycle which in number of scenes most likely was comparable to that of a single book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

What an illustrated Euripides roll of the third century B.C. must have looked like is suggested by a reconstruction (Text fig. B),¹¹ made along the same lines as that of the *Iliad* scroll (Text fig. A). It contains the verses 827–868 in a script adapted from a papyrus of the suggested date and has intersections at those points where the miniatures best fit the passage they illustrate. The two scenes are taken from the Berlin bowl (Fig. 73), one showing the embarrassed Clytemnestra when she learns that Achilles is not to be her son-in-law, and the second the faithful messenger who informs Clytemnestra about Agamemnon's ruse.

An interstice in a writing column of a papyrus roll permits a somewhat freer distribution of the figures than the cramped surface area of a single bowl where five scenes had to be accommodated; and, therefore, I have taken the liberty of inserting, in the second scene, another figure of Achilles because the text requires his presence.

In the Hellenistic period, 74 plays of Euripides were known, of which 19 had been selected as a kind of school edition and this is the reason for their survival in the Middle Ages. Of the other 55 plays only a few quotations or shreds of papyri of varying size have come down to us, and in a few cases nothing more than the mere titles.¹² It is obvious that any picture or set of pictures from these lost plays are of special importance and become a primary source, not only for the archeologist, but also for the philologist who tries to reconstruct the plot.

Fortunately, we have a series of pictures even from one of the lost satyr-plays, the *Autolycus*. They occur on a relief jug in Berlin which is inscribed by the artist's name, Dionysius (Fig. 75),¹³ and belongs to the same category of monuments as the Megarian bowls with which the lower part of the vessel agrees in form and frieze decoration. Autolycus, the son of Hermes and an expert cattle thief, used to escape detection by transforming the stolen cattle so that the animals could no longer be recognized. But he found his equal in Sisyphus, who stamped the hoofs of his cattle and was thus able to recover his stolen property. At the right, Sisyphus demands with vehement gestures his stolen cattle from Autolycus who likewise gesticulates wildly, and in the center Sisyphus is driving away his retrieved pair of oxen under the eyes of Autolycus and Laertes, Odysseus' father. But while Sisyphus was at Autolycus' court he apparently succeeded in seducing his host's daughter, Anticleia, and this is depicted at the left, where he tries to draw the resisting woman onto the couch after he has entered her bedchamber through the open door. No literary source known today mentions this

amorous interlude, but the pictorial language is so clear that it has a documentary value, equal to the written word.

Some years ago our knowledge of Euripidean iconography was considerably enriched when a group of Bactrian silver bowls with multi-figured friezes, which had variously been interpreted as scenes from Latvian saga, Iranian epic poems, and Indian *Veda*, finally turned out to be scenes from Euripidean dramas.¹⁴ These bowls, though slightly flatter, are dependent on and imitate the form of the Megarian bowls which even reached India, where a fragment with a Heracles scene has been found in Peshawar.¹⁵ It has repeatedly been suggested that the Megarian bowls were cheap imitations of more precious silver bowls and this idea seems now supported by the Bactrian silver bowls which apparently derive from Hellenistic ones of that same material. Although the scenes on these Bactrian bowls are in a few details orientalized and we cannot be sure whether the oriental artist still understood their meaning, they are as a whole so faithfully copied and the gestures are so vivid and explicit that almost every scene can be identified with certainty on the textual basis alone.

On a bowl found at Kustanai in the south of Russia, and now at the Hermitage in Leningrad,¹⁶ one scene (Fig. 76) represents two old men, dancing and trying to steady each other, while looking with apprehension at the youthful warrior with shield and spear who stands there in a haughty attitude. This situation is thoroughly explained by the *Bacchae* where, at the beginning (v. 248f.), two old men, Cadmus and Teiresias, are introducing the Bacchic rites at Thebes and dancing when they are suddenly surprised by Pentheus, the young king, who shows his indignation and determination to expel the new cult. All this is capably expressed by a certain clumsiness in the attitudes of the two old men and the cocky pose of Pentheus. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that hitherto only pictures of the tragic end of Pentheus were known in Greco-Roman art as a

reflection of the Euripidean tragedy,¹⁷ while here we have for the first time a scene from the earlier part of the drama.

The remaining scenes of this Bactrian bowl are not from the *Bacchae*, but from other Euripidean tragedies. The bowl belongs to a class in which the drama is not developed in a sequence of consecutive phases but where the artist chose each scene from a different play. This extreme epitomizing of Euripidean picture cycles has its parallel in the Iliad cup (Fig. 44) where each scene is taken from a different book of the epic poem. The scene next to the one from the *Bacchae* is, once more, clearly identified by the uniqueness of its action (Fig. 77). It is a precise illustration of the opening verses (82ff.) of the lesser known *Ion*, where the boy of this name who had been abandoned, saved, and brought up in the temple of Delphi, comes out of the temple gate and, lifting up a laurel bay, sings a paean in the praise of Apollo. Meanwhile his mother Creusa appears and, behind her, the leader of the chorus who makes a libation offering. It is the meeting which will lead to Creusa's recognition of her own son believed lost. Aside from a very doubtful interpretation of a vase painting,¹⁸ this is the first illustration from the *Ion* whose identification, to my knowledge, has not been challenged.

The fact that there are no explanatory inscriptions on the Bactrian silver vessels — contrary to the Megarian bowls — introduces an element of uncertainty in some identifications and, consequently, we are almost entirely dependent on the texts themselves. Yet the endeavor of the illustrators to follow the text as closely as possible and to depict very specific poses and gestures makes the margin of possible misinterpretation surprisingly small. Could the scene on another Bactrian silver bowl, now in the Freer Gallery in Washington (Fig. 78 at the left),¹⁹ which depicts a strong man with a club killing a helpless, unresisting youth while a fettered woman looks on, really represent anything other than Heracles in a fit of madness, killing his second

son in the presence of Megara, his wife, who had been a prisoner of Lycus? Every detail is motivated by the Euripidean *Heracles Mainomenos* (v. 990ff.) where the episode is told by a messenger rather than enacted on the stage. But, it is in accord with dramatic illustration, as has been mentioned already in connection with Iphigenia's arrival at Aulis on the bowl now in New York, that messenger reports were indeed illustrated. Or could there be any doubt that the neighboring scene depicts Theseus enthroned who accuses Hippolytus, while the latter, bound by an oath, cannot divulge Phaedra's true motives and, therefore, is shown writhing with twisted hands and looking away? This is a faithful and psychologically well understood scene from Euripides' *Crowned Hippolytus* (v. 943ff.). Even where the text is not preserved, the pictorial rendering is often precise enough to permit an identification. The scene (Fig. 78 at the right) which represents a woman holding in one hand a lustral bowl and with the other the wrist of an old decrepit man who seems to follow her quite willingly, fits only one situation: the promised rejuvenation of Pelias whom his own daughters, at the ill advice of Medea, led to a cauldron to be cut up and boiled. This was the content of the lost Euripidean *Peliades*, and thus we do not hesitate to see in this group an illustration of this tragedy.

In the Roman period by far the most important monuments, with regard to Euripides illustrations, are the sarcophagi, which occupy a position in dramatic illustration similar to that of the Iliac tablets in epic illustration. The study of the sarcophagi from the iconographical point of view is greatly facilitated by their arrangement in Robert's corpus according to myths, and by the fact that Robert himself repeatedly implied the dependence on illustrated books, thus showing his awareness of this basic problem. Of course, not every Euripidean subject can be expected to be represented on a sarcophagus, since the choice was determined by fitness for funerary art; even so the choice from Euripidean plays was very broad. The clearest reflection of a

manuscript model can be found, as we have previously seen for some epic illustrations (the *Aethiopis* on Fig. 51a–b and the *Little Iliad* on Fig. 54), on the narrow friezes of the lids. One such lid in the Lateran Museum (Fig. 79)²⁰ depicts several scenes from Euripides' *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, beginning with the recognition of Orestes and Pylades who are brought by a Scythian soldier before Iphigenia, who in front of the temple of Diana lifts up the letter which Pylades is asked to deliver (v. 725f.). There follows a scene in which the two friends, fettered and guarded, watch Iphigenia taking out the temple idol of Diana, allegedly in order to purify it, but in reality to flee with it (v. 1056f.). At the right stands King Thoas who, according to Euripides, should not be present. This can only mean that the artist took him from a later scene (v. 1152f.), thus trying to conflate two episodes. Conflations are often used on sarcophagi in order to press as much content as possible into limited space, as also in the last section of the lid which combines the fight at the seashore (v. 1354f.) with the boarding of the ship by Iphigenia who still holds the idol in her hands (v. 1379f.) — once more events told only in a messenger's report. With altogether five scenes involved this is only a part of the Iphigenia cycle and other sarcophagi show a different selection from our postulated manuscript model which must have contained more scenes than could ever be accommodated on a single sarcophagus.²¹ Thus, a model in another medium must be assumed, which leads once more to the assumption of an illustrated manuscript as the most likely source.

A basic problem of Euripidean picture cycles, like those of epic poems, is that of iconographical recensions. Do the two major groups of monuments — the Megarian bowls with their Bactrian derivatives, and the Roman sarcophagi — belong to the same recension or not? There are, to my knowledge, no scenes from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* on the sarcophagi, and, vice versa, none of the *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* on the bowls, but

there are a few cases where a comparison can be made. Among the numerous sarcophagi with scenes from the Euripidean *Hippolytus* there is one in Arles (Fig. 80)²² which on one short side has a representation of Theseus accusing Hippolytus (v. 936f.), the identical moment depicted also on the Bactrian bowl in Washington (Fig. 78). Theseus, half-naked, leans with his right hand firmly on the chair, while on the silver plate, being fully dressed, he raises his finger in accusation. In both he holds the famous sword²³ that he had found under the rock in Troezen, but differently in each. Moreover, the pose and gestures of Hippolytus differ so fundamentally that it would be more than difficult to derive the two representations from a common archetype.

Another short side of a sarcophagus, found in the catacomb of Pretextatus (Fig. 81),²⁴ represents old Pelias being led by his daughters to the cauldron in which he is to be cut up and boiled — the only scene from the *Peliades* which has ever been found on a sarcophagus. A quick glance at the corresponding scene on the same Bactrian bowl (Fig. 78 at the right) suffices to convince the beholder that in each case a totally different compositional scheme has been invented. Obviously we are dealing, once more, with two different recensions. These observations agree thoroughly with those made in connection with the illustrations of the epic poems, and we are, thus, inclined to draw the same conclusion that there also existed for the dramatic illustration a "bowl" or "Grecian-recension," and what one might call a "sarcophagus-recension," the equivalent to the "tablet-recension" in epic illustration, that would correspond with our "Alexandrian-Roman recension."

All monuments with Euripidean scenes considered so far belong to what may be called the "epic style" of illustration. But there is another type of Euripidean representations in which elements observed at a stage performance are incorporated. An example of this second group of monuments in what may be called the "theatrical style" is a floor mosaic of the second century A.D.,

found at Antioch, which contains, as we believe, five panels from five different Euripidean tragedies. In one being from the *Hippolytus* (Fig. 82),²⁵ the youthful hero and hunter has just thrown to the ground Phaedra's letter with the love proposal and is repudiating her vehemently (v. 616f.). Phaedra, on her part, turns around in a pose that expresses shame and anger, and between them stands the helpless old nurse, unable to mediate. Instead of being represented in heroic nakedness, as on the sarcophagi, Hippolytus is dressed in a tunic and the colored mantle of the theater, and the little statue of Aphrodite on a high pedestal looks more like a theater prop than a sanctuary. Moreover, all three figures behave like actors with stylized rather than spontaneous poses as they are found on the Megarian bowls. Obviously, the whole style of illustration has changed under the influence of the stage performance, and from here it is but a short step to a representation of the actors with all the paraphernalia of the stage.

A marble plaque found in Herculaneum (Fig. 83)²⁶ depicts the immediately following phase of the same scene: Hippolytus has just left the stage, and now Phaedra is repudiating the nurse in the presence of the leader of the chorus, who stands at the extreme right. The type of Phaedra, her pose and gestures, resemble so much the Phaedra in the Antioch mosaic that both must belong to the same pictorial recension. But now the transformation into theatrical style is complete. All three figures of the marble plaque wear the tragic mask with the onkos, and although the garments fall down to the ground, the stiff poses suggest the wearing of kothurni. The marble plaque, dating to the first century, proves that already at that time the change from the epic to the theatrical style had taken place and had been complete. But when this process started, and whether and how far back we can go into the Hellenistic period is, at the present state of our knowledge, impossible to say. At the same time it must be made clear that the theatrical style did not completely

supersede the epic style since the latter was still very popular in the second- and third-century sarcophagi (Figs. 79–81).

Moreover, it has been suggested that the Herculaneum picture may go back to a Latin adaptation of the Euripidean *Hippolytus* rather than to the latter itself.²⁷ Yet, the parallel with the Antioch mosaic speaks rather in favor of the Euripidean interpretation. It seems less likely that a picture cycle of a play of Accius or some other Roman poet was known in Antioch than that a Euripidean representation should still be recognized and appreciated in Herculaneum. That the educated Romans should still have preferred the Greek classics over their own has its parallel in the epic illustration where Homer is preferred to Virgil (see p. 59).

Do the illustrations in the theatrical style form yet another recension or can they be explained as transformations of either the "bowl" or the "sarcophagus-recension"? One of the few instances where such a comparison can be made is an illustration from the Euripidean *Alcestis*. Among 24 hexagonal panels of a late antique floor mosaic from Porcareccia, now in the Vatican Museum, there is one (Fig. 84)²⁸ which depicts the veiled Alcestis as she is gently led by the hand by Hermes Psychopompos into Hades (v. 741f.). Both figures, rather summary in style, have masks, walk on clearly visible, high kothurni, and wear multicolored, striped theater costumes. The same event is represented on the short side of a sarcophagus in Florence (Fig. 85)²⁹ where Hermes, though naked in agreement with the epic style of illustration, is rendered in quite the same pose as in the Porcareccia mosaic: he turns around on his way to Hades and gently holds the veiled Alcestis by the wrist.

The compositional affinity between these two scenes becomes all the more apparent if one compares them with the third example of the same subject on the Bactrian silver bowl in Leningrad (Fig. 77 at the right). Here too Hermes moves ahead and turns his head around — that much agreement is to be expected

in any representation of this scene — but then he puts his hand upon the head of the veiled Alcestis. This is quite a different conception of guidance into the lower world than the gentle grasping of her hand. From these comparisons it can be concluded that the “theatrical version” is neither a new, third recension nor derived from the “bowl-recension,” but is the result of a transformation of the “sarcophagus-recension.” This one might have expected, since the sarcophagi as well as the Porcareccia mosaic were made on Italian soil and thus fit quite naturally into our proposed “Alexandrian-Roman recension.”

One other medium in which one would expect to find reflections of miniature cycles — by analogy with the epic illustrations — is fresco painting. Of course one should not search among the isolated panels, but once more among those narrow friezes which, in some Pompeian houses, run around the four walls (Figs. 42, 52) and, like lids of sarcophagi, permit the lining up of brief, concise scenes without too great a change of the figure scale. There is a room in the Casa del Centenario with such a narrow frieze which depicts scenes from the theater with the actors dressed in theatrical costumes and wearing masks. Today the frieze has almost vanished and can be studied only by means of drawings which were made shortly after the discovery of the frescoes.³⁰ But, contrary to the three Iliad friezes of Pompeii, this one is not a continuous narrative made up from scenes of a single play, but has a tragic scene regularly alternating with a comic one, and appearing as though each were taken from a different drama, as on the Bactrian bowls (Figs. 76–78) and the mosaics from Antioch (Fig. 82) and Porcareccia (Fig. 84). One of the tragic scenes (Fig. 86)³¹ depicts Medea's two children being brought to her by their tutor. The Colchian sorceress holds the drawn sword in her hand, which is contrary to the text, at least at the very moment when the children were brought to her in the palace. Robert,³² who had already derived these frescoes from illustrated books, clearly realized that the sword is but an

anticipation of what happens 200 verses later in the Euripidean *Medea*. In other words, we are dealing here with a conflation of two scenes, and this in itself is good evidence for the derivation from a larger, narrative cycle.

All monuments in the theatrical style discussed so far, like the floor mosaics from Antioch and Porcareccia and the frescoes of the Casa del Centenario, show the most extreme type of epitome, according to which only one scene is chosen from each drama. So one begins to wonder whether there exists any concrete evidence at all of extended narrative cycles in the theatrical style. Fortunately, we do possess at least one such monument from the late classical period, an incised bronze disk in the Villa di Papa Giulio in Rome (Fig. 87)³³ which contains several theatrical scenes, all from the same play. The figures — with the exception of the one at the upper left — wear theatrical costumes, masks, and kothurni, and are involved in violent actions. Most easily identifiable is the scene in the center which represents the seizure of Pentheus by the Maenads who carry torches and are about to tear him apart (v. 1114f.). This episode occurs repeatedly on the sarcophagi³⁴ but in the epic style and in another compositional layout which may well stem from a famous wall painting, while the bronze disk, to our knowledge, is the only one in the theatrical style. Pentheus' seizure, of course, was not enacted on the stage, but was told by a messenger. Compared with previous examples in which the content of a messenger's report was illustrated in epic fashion (see pp. 71–72 and Figs. 78, 79), this is an example suggesting that even the adaptation of the theatrical costume was made in the scriptorium without the use of sketches since it affects a scene not enacted.

In the center of the top frieze one easily recognizes Pentheus at the moment where he sends the fettered god Dionysus into prison (v. 505f.); at the bottom, Agave, the torches still in her hands, kneels remorsefully after having recovered her senses and realized that, in an act of frenzy, she had helped to tear apart

her own son, while Cadmus turns away in an attitude of utter grief.³⁵ Aside from these concise narrative scenes, which in the metal disk seem to have kept about the original size of miniatures, there are still other features that point to a manuscript model. In the lower left and right corners there are pairs of masks on pedestals. Now, in illustrated medieval copies of the comedies of Terence (see p. 85 and Fig. 93), it is common to have in front of each drama a miniature with the catalogue of the masks needed for each individual play. Obviously the masks of our bronze disk reflect faithfully such a title miniature which, only for reasons of decorative distribution, was divided into two separate parts.

While, in the case of the bronze disk, the relation to our postulated miniature cycle is particularly close, the next step in our investigation is the search for evidence of an illustrated Euripides in its original medium — book illumination. No actual Euripides manuscript with a picture cycle, ancient or medieval, is known to us, but there is at least one stray miniature in a Byzantine manuscript of the Macedonian renaissance which must be derived from an illustrated Euripides. In the eleventh-century copy of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian in Venice, already mentioned (pp. 26ff., 54, and Figs. 31–34, 61), there is a composite miniature with the personification of Jealousy and several scenes from different Euripidean tragedies (Fig. 88).³⁶ Where the Pseudo-Oppian text (III, 237ff.) mentions heroes and heroines who, driven by jealousy, had committed or intended infanticide, such as “Theseus, son of Aegeus, and Athamas, son of Aeolus, and Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela, and Colchian Medea and glorious Themisto,” the illustrator depicts a series of narrative scenes for which this brief passage in the *Cynegetica* is not a sufficient basis. In the lower right one easily recognizes Medea who has just killed her two children (*Medea*, v. 1251ff.), a scene which in spite of Byzantine elements still reveals a classical prototype as it is known from a vase painting and a gem.³⁷

Medea as a murderess had such fame that, at the lower left, the illustrator added still another murder for which she is responsible — though it is not even an infanticide but a parricide — that of Pelias. It clearly is from the *Peliades* of Euripides and shows in two phases which suggest a section from a more extended narrative sequence, first, Medea boiling in a cauldron the ram which she is about to reconstitute, and, second, the boiling of the cut-up Pelias by his own daughters who then fail to reconstitute him. From the *Peliades* we have previously seen the scene of the leading of old Pelias to the cauldron by his daughters in two versions, the “bowl-recension” (Fig. 78) and the “sarcophagus-recension” (Fig. 81). But, since this scene depicts an earlier phase of the same episode, there is no way of knowing with which of the two recensions the miniature might be associated. Why does the illustrator depict these scenes from Euripides’ *Peliades* which are not even called for by the Pseudo-Opian text? In our opinion it was simply the availability of an illustrated Euripides, which, conversely, explains the absence of pictures of the other heroes and heroines mentioned by Pseudo-Opian — like Procne and Philomela — simply because they do not occur in Euripides’ writings. The *Peliades* is one of the plays lost today, but it seems quite probable that the Byzantines at the time of the Macedonian renaissance had more dramas of Euripides than the nineteen which have come down to us.

This applies also to two more plays, illustrated in the upper zone. At the right are two scenes from the *Ino* of Euripides: the slaying of Learchus by his father Athamas in a fit of madness, and Themisto’s unintentional killing of her own babe in the bedroom during the semi-darkness of the night, when she had planned to kill the child of her rival Ino.³⁸ These are the only two scenes ever to be identified of this lost Euripidean tragedy, and this makes us aware of the importance of this miniature, late as it is in date, for the expanding knowledge of Euripidean iconography. Finally, there is the scene clearly identifiable as

that of the young Theseus' finding the weapons of his father Aegeus under the heavy rock at Troezen; this probably comes from the Euripidean play, entitled *Aegeus*, which had Medea's jealousy as its central theme.

Altogether the evidence for picture cycles of Euripidean dramas is extremely rich and diversified and it seems as if most, if not all, of the tragedies and satyric plays of that great dramatist were illustrated in an edition which in scale and spread of popularity was equaled only by that of the Homeric poems and the epic cycle.

AESCHYLUS

In view of the overwhelming evidence for not only the existence but the popularity and wide dissemination of illustrations of Euripides, one wonders whether there are no illustrations left of Aeschylus and Sophocles. While subjects from their tragedies do occur on vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. quite frequently,³⁹ they do not, even for that period, rival numerically those based on Euripides. In the Hellenistic period Euripides far outranks the other in popularity because of his more modern psychological approach from which New Attic Comedy learned so much. True, there are quite a number of sarcophagi with Aeschylean and Sophoclean themes, but, since mythological sarcophagi in general also depend to a considerable degree on monumental art, they are not a sure basis for the establishment of a miniature tradition unless one finds on the narrow friezes of the lids scenes in a stricter narrative form — such as that illustrating the Euripidean *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* (Fig. 79). But this is not the case in those sarcophagi whose complex compositions on the troughs seem to be influenced by the Aeschylean *Eumenides* or *Choephoroe*.⁴⁰ The most reliable group of monuments with regard to miniature models

has been, so far, the Megarian bowls; indeed, evidence can now be provided that Aeschylus and Sophocles were both illustrated on these bowls in the same manner as Euripides.

The University museum of Halle owns a Megarian bowl which has inscribed in widely spaced letters the title ΦΟΡΚΙΑΔΕΣ (Fig. 89a-b) ⁴¹ and the representation of three women inscribed Pephredo, Perso, and Enyo, the daughters of Phorcys, who are also known as the Graeae, the grey-haired ones. The very fact that these three sisters, contrary to the strict mythological tradition as seen on an Etruscan mirror, are not depicted as old and ugly but apparently as youthful and slender suggests that the terra-cotta worker depended on a model in which they were understood as *dramatis personae*. It is known that Aeschylus wrote a tragedy entitled *Phorcides*, and the cup, with little reason for doubt, represents — in analogy to Euripidean cups with similar title inscriptions (see p. 64 and Fig. 73) — scenes from this play about which too little is known even to outline the plot. In addition, there is a woman who, according to a fragmentary inscription, quite likely represents Hera, and the remnant of still another figure may have been Perseus. Each must have played some role in the play, and to that extent the bowl contributes to our knowledge of this lost Aeschylean tragedy, regardless of the fact that the full meaning of the figures cannot be grasped nor the plot be reconstructed — to the extent as, for example, the lost *Autolycus* of Euripides could be reconstructed on the basis of the more elaborate and more specific scenes on the jug of Dionysius (see p. 68 and Fig. 75).

The cup in Halle is the first evidence — and herein lies its importance — for a cyclic illustration of an Aeschylean tragedy in the Hellenistic period. And, if this tragedy was illustrated, then others, which surely were more popular — like the *Eumenides* or the *Choephoroe* — one would expect to have likewise existed with narrative cycles, if not on the bowls proper, at least

ANCIENT BOOK ILLUMINATION

in the form of miniatures in an illustrated Aeschylus edition which, like the Euripides edition, was used and epitomized by the terra-cotta workers.

SOPHOCLES

As far as Sophocles is concerned, evidence for illustration of his dramas on the Megarian bowls also is of recent date. In the collection of the late German archeologist, Ludwig Curtius, there is a small fragment (Fig. 90) ⁴² with a half-naked, bearded man in a seated position who stretches his arms forward as if to receive something. Were it not for the inscriptions it would be impossible to identify the fragment, but from what can still be read its context becomes clear: one line above the head identifies the seated man as Athamas, and another to the left indicates that the missing figure was Dionysus. Obviously, Athamas, King of Boeotia, is depicted at the moment where he receives the child Dionysus who is entrusted to his care. Moreover, at the right of the King's head one reads: COΦO[ΚΛΕΟΝΣ . . .]

It is known that Sophocles wrote a tragedy entitled *Athamas*. So the inference is — in analogy to other Megarian bowls — that the complete cup had several scenes from this tragedy of Sophocles, Hermes' handing over of the child Dionysus being one of them. Insignificant as this small terra-cotta fragment as such may be, it must be evaluated in relation to the Euripidean bowls and one is tempted to speculate that there most likely existed more bowls with other plays of Sophocles, all of which derived their imagery from an illustrated Sophocles edition.

THE MENANDER PROBLEM

Returning, once more, to Oldfather's list of literary papyri, after Euripides with 32 fragments, next in line is neither Aeschy-

lus nor Sophocles but Menander with no less than 26 fragments.⁴³ There can be no doubt about Menander's popularity in the Hellenistic-Roman period, and, since the dramas of Euripides were so prolifically illustrated, one might also expect Menander plays to have existed with miniature cycles on a comparable scale. The papyrus fragment in Florence (p. 64 and Fig. 72) — whether or not it is by Menander himself seems impossible to determine — at least makes it a certainty that texts of the Attic New Comedy actually were enriched by miniatures. But, in contrast to Euripides illustrations, the difficulties in reconstructing picture cycles of the Menander plays are almost insurmountable, because (1) the textual transmission is too defective, even after portions of five comedies have been found in papyri as late as 1905; (2) in the representational arts the more general types of a comedy of manners are more difficult to identify than mythological subjects of tragedy; (3) no Megarian bowls, our most reliable group in relation to miniature painting, have as yet been found with Menander scenes; and (4) those comic representations that we do have on Pompeian frescoes have no titles or inscriptions.

There is one exception. A few years ago a mosaic was discovered in the Roman city of Ulpia Oescus in Bulgaria (Fig. 91)⁴⁴ which has been interpreted, with a certain degree of probability, as Achilles who, accompanied by Patroclus, speaks up in the assembly in front of Nestor and Agamemnon. The actions in this badly damaged mosaic are vivid, especially that of the demanding Achilles. All four figures wear masks, and above their heads is the startling inscription [M]ENANΔPOV AXAIOI. This surely is the title of the play, but our joy over the discovery of a Menander illustration is somewhat tempered by the realization that no play entitled *The Achaeans* is known to have been written by Menander, and no record exists of any mythological subject among the titles we have of Menander's plays. On the other

hand, it is known that mythological burlesques were written by New Comedy poets — Philemon wrote a play called *The Myrmidons* — so that, on the basis of the sure inscription of the mosaic, the possibility that Menander in his early life wrote a play called *The Achaeans* can not be excluded.

Another tantalizing monument is the fresco frieze of the Casa del Centenario which we already introduced in connection with the tragic scene from the *Medea* of Euripides (Fig. 86).⁴⁵ There are still other tragic scenes in this long and narrow frieze, in which tragic and comic scenes alternate, which can be identified as Euripidean, and there is some evidence that we may be dealing with a whole Euripidean cycle. In this case one would also expect the comic scenes to be from a single author. Being confronted with Euripides, it hardly could be any other than Menander himself. This, admittedly, is hypothetical reasoning, but what would be more natural than an attempt to identify this set of comic scenes with Menander? Such attempts have been made previously, and in some of the panels there are details which, indeed, seem to fit the situations as described in the known Menander fragments. In the scene where the long-bearded old gentleman talks to the old grey-haired slave with the smirking expression on his face (Fig. 92), Robert, in his profound study of the masks of the New Comedy,⁴⁶ was reminded of a situation in the *Epitrepontes*, in which Smicrines, Pamphila's father, talks to the slave Onesimus. This identification has not remained undisputed.⁴⁷ Admittedly, such scenes occur in many New Comedies, and in no single case of the frescoes of the Casa del Centenario has a connection with a Menander play been proved. Even so, there remains a high degree of probability that these scenes, which the learned *litteratus* who lived in this house must have been able to identify even without explanatory inscriptions, belong to the best known and most popular of all comic poets, Menander.

DRAMATIC POETRY

TERENCE

The plays of Menander were not the only comedies enriched by picture cycles. Just as in epic poetry, Virgil was illustrated under the impact of Homer, so in dramatic poetry, after Greek Menander the Latin comedies of Terence were adorned with miniatures. Here we are on very sure ground. From the Middle Ages, between the ninth and twelfth centuries there are several richly illustrated Terence manuscripts which contain a fixed set of six comedies, representing a fifth-century edition of a certain Calliopius.⁴⁸ It has been suggested that the miniature cycles which exist for each one of the six plays were invented at the time of Calliopius,⁴⁹ but the clear understanding of the paraphernalia of the stage point rather to a considerably earlier archetype, since the fifth century, in which performances of ancient plays with masks were no longer customary, hardly could have known all the details of the masks with such a fidelity. Most archeologists, therefore, have — justifiably — assumed a Roman archetype.⁵⁰

Each comedy begins with a miniature depicting the catalogue of the masks, the one to the *Andria* being the first. In the oldest, iconographically most faithful, and artistically most splendid manuscript, a Carolingian codex in the Vatican,⁵¹ this introductory miniature (Fig. 93) has thirteen masks; exactly as many as actors appear in the play, and each mask is clearly characterized as to facial expression, hair style, and coloring.⁵² The framing architecture, consisting of columns that support a pedimental gable, has usually been interpreted as an armarium, i.e., a cupboard for the masks; but in our opinion it is merely a decorative frame which so much resembles those of the Eusebian Canon tables in Gospelbooks that it seems to be a mere imitation of them.⁵³ These architectural frames were apparently added when a papyrus roll was turned into a codex and the desire for full-page miniatures arose as an adjustment to the new format. The

masks on the bronze disk with the scenes from the *Bacchae* of Euripides (Fig. 87) were already shown to be the copy of such an introductory miniature, but here, for lack of space as well as for reasons of conformity with the papyrus tradition, there is no frame around the masks.

It was Robert's suggestion that the numerous mask compositions one finds on Roman floor mosaics and Pompeian frescoes also hark back to such title miniatures in manuscripts.⁵⁴ Some of these mosaics and frescoes without doubt have become mere ornamental decoration, while others preserve the accuracy of the mask ensemble in relation to the very play for which it was invented. One such fresco from Pompeii (Fig. 94)⁵⁵ has four masks which can be explained by the *Andromeda* of Euripides: at the left is that of Perseus with the cap that is supposed to make him invisible and with the "harpe," the sword with the sickle; at the upper right is that of Andromeda, and the two at the lower right (one of which is almost gone), those of her parents Cepheus and Cassiopeia. However, the head of the monster, sent to devour Andromeda, is probably an addition of the fresco painter in order to make the identification of the masks easier after they had been severed from the text. A frontispiece miniature with the catalogue of the masks, heading the text proper, naturally does not need such explanatory features.

The mask picture is followed by the scenic illustrations with an average of 20-30 scenes from each drama. This is approximately the same number we have calculated for a single book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* or for a single drama of Euripides, a norm which permits on an average one picture for each writing column. In the Carolingian codex in the Vatican (Fig. 95)⁵⁶ occasionally two scenes even occur on one page, as, for example, at the end of the fourth act of the *Adelphoe*. Here the first interstice is occupied, though not filled, by the figure of Demea, an old gentleman from Athens who leans on a staff, professing with a vivid gesture that he is tired of looking for his brother

DRAMATIC POETRY

Micio; as soon as the latter appears — four lines later — the next picture follows, with Demea and Micio in lively conversation. This is good storytelling in pictures! Moreover, the miniatures, in the best tradition of the papyrus style, have no frame or background. The simple door frame is but a necessary iconographical feature, since the text mentions explicitly that Demea is waiting in front of Micio's house.

If one looks at two facing pages, they can easily be envisaged as a section of an illustrated papyrus roll as far as the distribution of the pictures in the text is concerned. Such an opening of the codex is in no way different from the Heracles papyrus in Oxford (Fig. 59). Moreover, if one could reinstate the scenes of the bronze disk (Fig. 87) in the writing columns, an illustrated *Bacchae* of Euripides would give a general impression very similar to that achieved by lining up side by side a few pages of the Terence manuscript.

MIMUS

While continuing the traditional forms of the drama — the tragedy and the comedy — the Hellenistic period developed the *mimos*, which had existed before as an imitative performance of dance and acrobatics, into a more diversified and increasingly popular branch of dramatic literature. As the word suggests, it is concerned with imitation of all aspects of the daily life in a realistic manner, but, in the stricter sense, it applies only to the dramatic form of the *mimos*, regardless as to whether it was actually performed on the stage or, as seems frequently to have been the case, merely written for a semi-dramatic recitation. In concept and style, the *mimos* comprised every level from the sophisticated to the vulgar and the burlesque.⁵⁷

There exists a Megarian bowl with illustrations of a particular type of low-class burlesque, the so-called *κίναιδοι* or pederasts (Fig. 96).⁵⁸ Although we do not possess any text of a *κίναιδος*

mimus, the actions on the bowl are so vivid that the plot can be fully comprehended. The setting is a mill, whose owner employs some slaves who are sifting flour and grinding corn. Suddenly the peaceful atmosphere is disturbed by the pederasts, characterized by their high pointed hats, who are doing all kinds of mischief, using clubs as weapons. But in the ensuing brawl, the slaves get the upper hand, bind one of the pederasts to a pole and flog him. The very fact that these scenes occur on a Megarian bowl suggests that they are derivatives of miniatures and that mimus manuscripts must have existed that were illustrated the same way as Homeric poems and Euripidean tragedies. The content of the *κίναιδοι* bowl can easily be divided into five separate actions — just as many as are found on some of the Euripidean cups (Figs. 73, 74) — and they could easily be reinstated as drawings in the writing columns of a mimus text.

The Megarian bowls are not the only type of relief pottery with scenes from the mimus. Vases of different shapes with mimus scenes have been found, particularly in Egypt, and this should not be surprising in view of the fact that the Hellenistic form of the mimus was essentially an Alexandrian product. But, in dealing with such monuments one must be content with describing and registering the types and actions due to the almost complete loss of the literary sources — the mimiambi of Herodas being our only complete text known today.

A fragmentary vase in a private collection in Alexandria, surely found in Egypt (Fig. 97),⁵⁹ represents characters of a very different nature and one does not even know how they are related to each other. A strong erotic element is obvious in the depiction of a woman in a twisted pose, showing her back to a man behind her. There is another woman who blows a flute and with the other hand holds a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes; and then there is a man who carries two big bags by means of a transverse pole over his shoulder. The poses of all these figures are clearly those of actors, but they wear no masks.

DRAMATIC POETRY

If our thesis that Alexandria was the chief center of illustrated rolls is correct, then it would be reasonable to expect from a systematic study of Egyptian relief terra cotta with literary subjects additional information about the illustrated manuscripts on which they depend.

ECLOGUES

To the higher level of the *mimus* belongs bucolic poetry in dramatic form, of which the *Idylls* of Theocritus is the best known representative. They are written in noble, stylized language and were very popular even in classical antiquity. Correspondingly, representations of bucolic content are frequent in Hellenistic-Roman art, and one is tempted to search among them for illustrations from Theocritus. Yet, it must be admitted that, to my knowledge, no undisputed identification of a bucolic representation with Theocritus' poetry has as yet been made. The knowledge of illustrated bucolic poetry rests predominantly on that of Virgil's *Eclogues*, the illustrations of which presumably stand in a tradition that had started with Theocritus.

The *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* have already been discussed and Greek prototypes have been found for the illustrations of both, so that by analogy one may also expect Greek models for the illustrations of the *Eclogues* which have survived only in the later Vatican codex, the *Virgilius Romanus* from the fifth to sixth centuries.⁶⁰ The picture to the first *Eclogue* (Fig. 98),⁶¹ in style still more classical than the others, and the only one which, following the papyrus tradition, is unframed, depicts Tityrus, the cowherd, seated in the shadow of a tree and contentedly blowing his flute, while being approached by Meliboeus, the goatherd, who, in agreement with the text, leads one of the goats himself. It has been seriously debated,⁶² whether or not Virgil's *Eclogues* were ever performed on the stage. It

will be noticed that the shepherds neither wear theatrical costumes nor is there anything resembling stage props as we have seen them in some Euripides and Terence illustrations of the theatrical style. On the contrary, there is a rich landscape setting. Of course, this may simply be due to what we called the "epic style" of illustration which also was applied to many illustrations of Euripides. Yet, while Euripides illustrations exist in two forms, epic and theatrical, we do not know of any bucolic scenes in the theatrical form. Thus, the bucolic illustrations do not support the theory of an actual performance of the *Eclogues*.

Like the *Aeneid*, the *Eclogues* remained very popular throughout the Middle Ages, and their illustrations provide one of the best examples for the survival of the classical pictorial tradition. There is in the Museo Nazionale in Florence a famous Carolingian flabellum enclosed in an ivory case carved with scenes from the *Eclogues*.⁶³ Unfortunately, in only one of the six ivory panels can we be sure that the same *Eclogue* is illustrated as in the Vatican codex, and this is, once more, the picture to the first *Eclogue* (Fig. 99). Consequently, on its analysis depends our attempt to determine whether or not we are dealing with the same recension. In the ivory relief Tityrus also sits at the left and blows the flute, but the instrument is turned in the other direction, while Meliboeus sits on the ground, in contrast to the Vatican miniature where he is standing. Because of these essential differences it has been argued that ivory and miniature could not have derived from the same archetype.⁶⁴

There is, however, the possibility that in richly illustrated manuscripts each individual eclogue may have had more than one picture, and that, in the archetype, the miniature with Meliboeus just arriving, as in the Vatican miniature, depicts an earlier phase, while the picture with the leisurely seated Meliboeus, as copied in the ivory relief, represents a later phase. Besides there are two points which both pictures have in common, and which might therefore be induced in favor of a common archetype:

Tityrus is seated upright while the word "recubans" might have suggested to the illustrator a reclining pose; and Meliboeus holds the goat by the horns whereas the text "hanc etiam vix duco" does not specify the manner in which the goat was led. Although these observations admittedly do not prove a common recension, at least they do not exclude the possibility; thus, it seems preferable to leave the issue undecided for the time being.

The style of the ninth-century ivory has a much more classical flavor than the earlier miniature; this can easily be explained by the use of a good and early model by the artist of the Carolingian renaissance. Just as in textual criticism, a later document is not necessarily the more corrupt one, and one cannot construe a history of gradual decline of the classical form by arranging accordingly the monuments in a precise chronology.

By the tenth century the classical pictorial tradition does begin to weaken appreciably, as can be seen in the miniature to the first *Eclogue* in the same Virgil manuscript in Naples (Fig. 100)⁶⁵ whose miniature with Aeneas fighting Turnus has been discussed previously (see p. 61 and Fig. 70). As in the ivory, Tityrus is seated in a twisted pose, in front of the tree which forms the letter T and the cows peer from behind the tree as they do in the Vatican miniature. While one still senses in these features a connection with the classical tradition, it has almost vanished in the figure of Meliboeus who is dressed in tunic and chlamys. Tityrus is likewise now fully dressed and, instead of blowing a flute, leans his hand against his cheek. The transformations have by now gone so far that the question as to a particular recension has almost become irrelevant.

In still another Virgil manuscript in the Vatican, as late as the twelfth century,⁶⁶ the classical tradition is totally absent. In the miniature again of the first *Eclogue* (Fig. 101), which is divided in two superimposed zones, Tityrus is depicted lying flat on the ground under a tree in a literal pictorialization of the word "recubans." Here the illustrator shows an approach

that is just as freshly naïve as it is unclassical, and the same is true for Meliboeus who leads a recalcitrant goat by a rope — a motif which illustrates, just as literally, the phrase “hanc etiam vix duco.” The quality of this twelfth-century Italian miniature may not be very high but it reveals a new pictorial interpretation of the Virgil text. With this manuscript, just as with the *Aeneid* of Heinrich of Veldeke (see p. 61 and Fig. 71), we have reached the time limit beyond which it is no longer profitable, except in a few isolated instances, to search for material with which to reconstruct the history of classical book illumination.

In order to evaluate the profound influence of classical book illumination upon Early Christian and medieval art, it is not enough merely to trace the history of illustrated classical texts through the Middle Ages. One also must take into consideration those illustrated Christian texts in which the artists, faced with the necessity of inventing new biblical compositions, used classical models. To elucidate this point one instance must suffice.

Among the fifth-century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome with narrative Old Testament scenes which directly or indirectly hark back to a miniature cycle, there is a representation of Exodus III, verse 1 (Fig. 102): ⁶⁷ “Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.” Moses, leaning on a staff, stands in the center looking up to the hand of God in the sky, while a second shepherd sits in leisurely fashion on a rock and watches Moses, and a third, seen from the back, leans on a staff extending his right hand in a gesture of speech toward Moses. Why are there three shepherds in the picture where the text speaks only of Moses and implies that he is alone when the Lord appears to him in the burning bush as described in the next verse? This contradiction of the biblical text can most easily be explained, in our opinion, by the assumption that the biblical illustrator, faced with the task of depicting Moses as a shep-

herd, looked at a classical model to find a fitting shepherd type. And what seems more natural than that he should have turned to an illustrated bucolic text? It is even quite likely that he used an illustrated copy of Virgil's *Eclogues*, similar to, though earlier than, the *Virgilius Romanus*, where twice, at the beginning of the third and of the seventh eclogue,⁶⁸ a group of three discoursing shepherds occurs, seated and standing, while leaning on their staffs and thrusting out their arms in gestures of speech. Such a model needed very little adjustment to the biblical text: only the addition of a segment of sky with the hand of God, and a turning of Moses' head toward it. As a representation of a conversation between three shepherds in a rich landscape setting, the mosaic, indeed, has preserved much of its original character of a bucolic mimus scene.

From the evidence gathered in this sketch, incomplete as it is, it must be clear that the illustration of the drama and the mimus is as rich as that of the epic poem. But, as in the latter, we are in no position to calculate the full extent of dramatic illustration in classical antiquity. Since not only the dramas of Euripides but also those of Aeschylus and Sophocles were illustrated with narrative cycles, one is tempted to speculate as to whether the comedies of Aristophanes could also have existed with similar cycles. As far as New Comedy texts are concerned, those of Menander surely were the most popular; yet there may have existed others with illustrations. The plays of Philemon, Menander's successful rival, were popular also, and popularity is the first condition for illustration. If only we knew to whom the illustrated fragment in Florence (Fig. 72) could be ascribed! Shall we believe that, of all the Roman dramatists, Terence was the only one to be illustrated, simply because some Carolingian illustrators had been successful in digging up an old, late antique copy with illustrations? Could not the comedies of Plautus have had much the same type of illustration? Why should Roman

tragedy be excluded from the possibility of having been illustrated? Seneca's plays were much read, and the question as to whether or not they were actually performed has no bearing on the problem as to whether or not the text could have been illustrated, since, as has been emphasized repeatedly, the illustration of rolls in a scriptorium does not necessarily require the acquaintance with theatrical performance. The types of the *mimus* we know to have been illustrated, the *κίναιδοι* and the *Eclogues*, are only two of many in this vast and diversified field of literature. Others have an equal chance of having been illustrated, and here the Egyptian relief pottery mentioned before may actually help to broaden our comprehension of the illustrated *mimus*. As in the case of illustrated epic poetry we must realize that the widely scattered monuments we have today are only chance survivals.

In some respects dramatic illustration has an even greater variety than the epic. The latter is essentially confined to mythological subject matter, whereas dramatic illustration, on the one hand, continues mythological themes in the tragedies, but, on the other, adds scenes from daily life in the comedies and the *mimus*, thus becoming a vehicle of progressive realism. Another facet of this new realism is the incorporation of observations made under the impression of stage performances — the introduction of theatrical costumes and masks. It is this element of realism which spreads also into the illustrated prose text like the romances.

I V

LITERARY PROSE TEXTS

MYTHOLOGICAL HANDBOOK

LITERARY texts in prose comprise every field of human endeavor from the most abstract idea to the most concrete observation of nature; thus it is evident that a chapter on illustrated prose texts of literary content cannot have the same degree of relative unity as those on the epic poem and the drama. Moreover, while the most important and popular epic poems and dramas were undoubtedly those which also had the most extensive picture cycles, there are entire categories of prose texts which, although just as important and popular from the literary point of view, are too abstract to induce an illustrator to their pictorialization. Consequently, our first concern in dealing with illustrations in prose texts should be the possibility of visualizing in pictorial form the content of a specific text.

One of the best examples in this respect is the mythological handbook, and it may be taken for granted that it was illustrated in very much the same manner as were epic poems and dramas. In many instances the illustrator of such a handbook would even be in a position to use their illustrations as models, but in others he had to rely on his own inventiveness since not every mythological subject can be expected to have existed in epic or dramatic form. Moreover, after the New Attic Comedy started to treat and illustrate daily life, one would expect to

find similar illustrations in romances. Other categories of literature which were inviting to the illustrator were the mystic and magic writings, of which illustrated papyrus fragments have survived, animal fables, biographies, and many more. To what extent were they illustrated and what is the evidence for it? Without trying to be in any way all inclusive I shall confine myself to those texts where the evidence is sure and the material comparatively abundant; future investigation, it is hoped, will fill out major and minor lacunae in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of ancient book illumination than can be offered at the present state of our knowledge.

After the creative periods in which poets like Homer and Euripides had formulated their own versions of certain myths, there arose in the Hellenistic period the desire to codify the mythological heritage; finally, beginning about the time of Augustus, the necessity was felt to compose handbooks and compendia of which the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus is the best example known today.¹ Although there is no absolute proof, there is a very high degree of probability that this very handbook of mythology (wrongly attributed to the great Athenian grammarian of the second century B.C. but written after the end of the first century B.C. — and more likely even during the second century A.D.)² was illustrated in classical antiquity. The evidence, as in several cases of epic and dramatic texts already discussed, comes from Byzantine manuscripts of the Macedonian renaissance.

One of them, an eleventh-century manuscript in Jerusalem (see p. 58 and Fig. 67)³ that contains a commentary on four homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus by a certain Pseudo-Nonnus, actually consists of a collection of mythological stories that explain the allusions to classical myths as they are found in Gregory's homilies. Some of these stories read very much like those in the so-called *Apollodorus-Bibliothèque* on which, in part at least, they seem to depend. This is all the more likely since it

is known that in the Byzantine period the so-called Apollodorus was the best known handbook of classical mythology and that the learned patriarch Photius in the ninth century owned a copy, the content of which he analyzed in his *Myriobiblon*.⁴

In quite a number of Pseudo-Nonnus illustrations, such as that of the birth of Athena out of the head of Zeus which had been split by Hephaestus, and the pursuit of Athena by Hephaestus (Fig. 103),⁵ the compositional schemes still reveal classical ancestry in spite of the costume changes. One would expect the illustrator to have used the same model which Pseudo-Nonnus had used for the text, that is, an illustrated Apollodorus, or, if it was not the *Bibliothèque* itself, an illustrated ancient handbook very much like it. The assumption that it might, indeed, have been Apollodorus proper is strengthened by the observation that in some respects it fits the Pseudo-Nonnus picture even better than the Pseudo-Nonnus text, since it mentions explicitly (Ap. I.III.6) that Athena was fully armed at the time of her birth and that Athena was fleeing when Hephaestus pursued her.

The same handbook of classical mythology, presumably the *Apollodorus-Bibliothèque*, was seemingly also available to other Byzantine illustrators of the Middle Byzantine period. In the *Cynegetica* manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian in Venice (see pp. 26, 53, 78 and Figs. 31-34, 61, 88), there is a scene of Perseus killing the Gorgon (Fig. 104).⁶ It shows explicitly how Perseus looks with averted gaze in the brazen shield which he uses as a mirror, a detail which, significantly enough, is not told in Pseudo-Oppian, but does occur, once more, in the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus (II.IV.2).

There is still a third manuscript of the Macedonian renaissance, the tenth-century Nicander in Paris (see p. 14 and Fig. 16)⁷ that contains a miniature which, presumably, is taken over from Apollodorus (Fig. 105).⁸ At the beginning of the *Theriaka* (v. 8ff.), a treatise on poisonous snake bites, Nicander speaks of "malicious spiders, creeping worms and other dangerous ani-

imals that are said to have emerged from the blood of the Titans, if one can believe Hesiod." At the end of the codex is a full page miniature which must be related to this text although the details do not quite fit. The giants are not occupied with giving birth to spiders and worms, but they are depicted in reeling poses as if they were about to be crushed by an invisible attacker. This scene obviously is part of a Gigantomachy in which the attacking gods are lacking. But this omission occurs even in ancient representations of the Gigantomachy as, for example, the fourth-century mosaic in Piazza Armerina;⁹ therefore, it need not be considered an alteration on the part of the Byzantine miniaturist. One might even speculate whether this miniature ultimately came from an illustrated *Hesiod*, particularly since Nicander mentions him as a source in this context, and the *Theogony* seems to be the kind of text inviting to an illustrator — after all, we know that Hesiod's *Works and Days* were illustrated (see p. 23 and Fig. 28). Yet I do not believe this to be likely, since Hesiod's description of the Gigantomachy (*Theog.* 183ff.) lacks the motif that the legs of the giants turn into serpents. This detail, however, occurs in the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus (I.VI.1), and hence our theory of an illustrated *Bibliothèque* as the source of Byzantine miniatures receives an additional support. Artistically, this tenth-century Nicander manuscript from the early phase of the Macedonian renaissance has preserved the freshness and vitality of the classical model to a much higher degree than the eleventh-century Pseudo-Nonnus and Pseudo-Oppian manuscripts.

At the same time one has to guard against the methodical error of trying to connect every Byzantine miniature with a mythological subject that seems to derive from a handbook, with the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus. After all, this was only one of many such compendia, and we know of at least one other handbook by a certain Canon who lived in the time of Augustus. It has not survived in its original form but only as an outline of its

fifty tales which was written by the learned Photius who owned Conon's handbook together with the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodorus, and in whose personal copy the two treatises were even bound together in one volume.

The chances are that Conon, too, was illustrated, since we have in the same Nicander manuscript in Paris a miniature (Fig. 106)¹⁰ which can well be explained by one of his stories.¹¹ It depicts the killing of Canopus, the pilot of Menelaus, by the serpent haimorois. Canopus lies on the ground while Helen rushes toward him, making a vain attempt to help him in the presence of a soldier who is probably Menelaus. The Conon text explains this picture better than the Nicander text and, therefore, an illustrated Conon as the model for the Canopus miniature seems to be a reasonable assumption.

LOVE ROMANCE

While mythological handbooks with their illustrations are eclectic products which continue, rearrange, and supplement what was found in the epic poems and dramas, there are other branches of literature which were new creations of the Hellenistic age and consequently posed new problems to the illustrators. None was of greater importance for the future, textually and pictorially, than the romance. The Greek and Latin works of fiction which have come down to us are little read and known today for the obvious reason that, being often stereotyped in plot, in literary value they cannot compete either with the ancient epos and drama or with the modern novel—the one branch of literary endeavor whose artistic level has increased in modern times. But this does not alter the fact that Greek and Roman novels enjoyed a considerable popularity in classical antiquity, and even in the Renaissance and the Elizabethan age they were read by the educated public. Were romances illustrated in the Hellenistic-Roman period? This not only can be answered

in the affirmative, but I shall try to demonstrate that it was done on an extensive scale and that practically every branch of romance can be shown to have existed with extensive narrative cycles.

The most popular and widespread is, of course, the love romance. We are in the most fortunate position of possessing a major fragment of such a romance in the form of an illustrated papyrus roll from the second century A.D., now in Paris (Fig. 107),¹² the text of which has not yet been identified. As a matter of fact it and the Heracles papyrus in Oxford (p. 53 and Fig. 59) are the only examples of a larger section of an illustrated literary papyrus. It contains the remnants of three writing columns, each with a miniature at a different level in the place where it best fits the text. In the first scene two persons, dressed in tunics with clavi, apparently have just had an argument and one of them is leaving in haste; in the second, two standing persons talk with a third who is seated on a throne and by his chlamys characterized as a man of higher rank; of the third, only a seated man is left, presumably the same as in the second. The style of the figures is rather sketchy, the thick outlines are filled with simple pink and grey-blue color, and as a whole the pictures are of a low quality and rather stereotyped; nevertheless, they prove for the romance also the existence of a type of illustration characterized by a dense sequence of several phases of one episode, allowing the reader to read the progress of the action just as coherently in the pictures as he does in the text. Those examples in other media which are considered to be reflections of illustrated romance papyri must be visualized as having been derived from rolls of this kind, although one would expect that some of the illustrations in these rolls had a higher quality than those of the Paris fragment.

One such derivative, in our opinion, is a mosaic from Antioch, the central emblema of which depicts two persons, identified by their inscriptions as Metiochus and Parthenope (Fig. 108).¹³ A

few papyrus fragments are known of a romance which has these two persons as chief protagonists,¹⁴ and there can be little doubt that the mosaic is an illustration of this romance. Parthenope, advancing with one arm thrust forward, is the one who makes a gesture of entreaty while Metiochus adopts the pose of a chaste youth who wards off her advances. The somewhat stylized poses give the impression as if the scene were enacted on a stage, comparable in this respect to the Antioch mosaic (Fig. 82) in which Hippolytus rejects Phaedra's advances, though reacting vehemently rather than timidly as Metiochus. This theatrical element in a romance scene should not be surprising in view of the great popularity of dramatic illustrations already in the early Hellenistic period and the likelihood, therefore, of their having been available as models to the first illustrators of romances. The simplicity of the romance scene, without any setting or backdrop, is very much in the miniature tradition, and the compositional scheme with one advancing and one receding person resembles that of the first scene of the Paris papyrus (Fig. 107 at the left). One can easily visualize the Metiochus and Parthenope scene, simply reduced in size, as fillings of an interstice in the writing column of a romance text.

The same house in Antioch has, in a neighboring room, a mosaic which can also be identified as a romance illustration (Fig. 109).¹⁵ In the fragmentary emblema, now in the Princeton Museum, one recognizes a lovesick youth lying on a couch and looking longingly at a panel portrait of his beloved, while another woman, standing in front of another couch, offers him a drink, presumably one of consolation. A fragment of a second mosaic with the same subject matter, found in nearby Alexandrette,¹⁶ identifies the youth — by means of an inscription — as Ninus, the hero of the earliest Greek romance known to us through some papyri that date between 100 B.C. and 50 A.D.¹⁷ The central theme of this novel, which deals with historical personages, is the love of Ninus for Semiramis that remained stead-

fast in the face of many adversities. But the literary fragments are insufficient to permit a more exact placing of the situation depicted in the panel though the meaning as such is perfectly clear. Does it show the longing for Semiramis before their marriage when the parents put it off because of the bride's tender age, or after it while he is away as a soldier in the war?

With two such romance scenes in the same house, its owner must have been a man of letters with a particular interest in romances, which in the form of illustrated rolls were perhaps in his own possession and could, thus, have been used by the mosaicist as models. The two emblemata represent the extreme form of an epitome whereby one scene is chosen from each novel, just as in another mosaic from Antioch (Fig. 82) and in the Bactrian silver bowls (Figs. 76-78) one scene from each drama of Euripides was chosen or as in some Megarian bowls (Fig. 44) one scene from each book of the *Iliad*.

There are other mosaics in Antioch¹⁸ which look very much like novel illustrations but can no longer be identified because of the lack of accompanying inscriptions. Here we meet the same tantalizing situation as in connection with the theater frieze from the Casa del Centenario (p. 84 and Fig. 92) where we had to be content with the generalizing statement that they depict illustrations from New Attic Comedy without being able to make more precise identifications. Yet, one thing seems to be clear with regard to romance illustrations: that they were much more popular and widespread than had hitherto been realized.

The full impression of a richly illustrated romance can best be gathered from a medieval manuscript which, though consisting of only two fragmentary leaves, plays a role comparable in importance only to the Terence manuscripts in the field of dramatic illustration. The text of this romance is known under the title *Apollonius, King of Tyre*, which was written in Greek by an unknown author but has come down to us only through a Latin translation of about the fifth century.¹⁹ These fragmentary

leaves of the tenth century, now in the Museum at Budapest, and representing the Latin version (Fig. 110a-b),²⁰ were written in the German monastery of Werden and profusely illustrated in a style which still reveals classical ancestry in the treatment of the figure and composition. In spite of the severely damaged state there are clear indications that the pages originally contained two narrow writing columns. Both of them were interspersed with rather simple line drawings which follow each other in such an extraordinary dense sequence that only a few lines of writing separate them. This means that the illustrator kept the picture narration moving just as fast as the poet did the textual narration, by quickly changing situation and locality. The one leaf here reproduced has only the right column preserved and in it alone are interspersed no less than four pictures,²¹ while the left column of which the remnants of two more pictures are visible may have had just as many.

These four pictures depict the episode of Tarsia, the chaste heroine who had been sold to a procurer at Mytilene and brought into a lupanar where she succeeded in taking much money from the customers while keeping her chastity at the same time. This is represented in the first picture while the second combines two phases: first Tarsia is handing over the gold pieces to the procurer, who, however, is so angered that — in the second phase — she is handed over to the overseer who is seen leading her away. In the ensuing conversation — which takes place in the third picture in a richly draped room — the overseer inquires about her capability to collect so much money and to keep her chastity whereupon, in the fourth picture, she throws herself to the ground and beseeches him, too, to respect her chastity as, indeed, he does and so the story goes on. These four pictures refer to only the thirty-fifth paragraph. Since the other page has just about as many scenes — seven altogether — this extreme density can be taken as a norm and thus an estimate of about 200 pictures for the complete text, comprising fifty-one

paragraphs, seems not to be excessive. There is hardly another illustrated text known to us in which the scenes follow each other in such a close approximation of a cinematic narration, and it does not seem to be accidental that this should occur in an ancient romance for which the quick change of action and locality is most typical.

ADVENTURE ROMANCE

The most extended picture cycle of a romance we have today is preserved in a Roman fresco-painting of the Augustan period in the so-called "room of the black walls" of the Villa Farnesina.²² It belongs to the same type of narrow frieze as that containing the *Iliad* and other epic illustrations in the Casa del Criptoportico (Figs. 42, 52) and the one with the theater scenes in the Casa del Centenario (Figs. 86, 92) both of which we considered to be derivatives from illustrated books. One gets the impression that these long, narrow frieze-bands were explicitly devised to permit the painter the accommodation of an extended cycle of consecutive scenes. The purely narrative content, the easy divisibility of the frieze into separate concise scenes, the reduction of landscape and architecture to the absolute minimum, all indicate that also for the Farnesina frieze a miniature cycle is the most likely model. Unfortunately, the actual text which these pictures must have illustrated with great precision is not preserved, and thus the plot must be reconstructed on the basis of the visual evidence of the pictures themselves.

There are several scenes in which judges pass legal decisions, and from this fact some scholars have concluded that we are dealing with a series of juridical pronouncements by the wise Egyptian King Bocchoris.²³ But this interpretation²⁴ was contradicted by Robert²⁵ with cogent arguments. He pointed out (1) that the obviously coherent style of scenes puts an emphasis on but is not exclusively concerned with judgment scenes; (2)

that there are figures of an Eros and other gods who have no place in judgment scenes; and (3) that a painter of the Augustan ages would hardly have missed the opportunity to represent an Egyptian king in an Egyptian garb. From this evidence Robert concluded that the frieze rather illustrates a romance.

One of the early episodes of the cycle seems to deal with the loss of a goat (Fig. 111a) which, standing lonely in a boat, is noticed by two shepherds. In the next scene (Fig. 111b) the case of the goat seems to be adjudicated by a judge. Then there follows a case of seduction in which two men are arrested (Fig. 111c), having apparently just seduced two women whom we see working in a chamber under the eyes of a flying Eros, and, once more, the culprits are brought before the judge. The whole character of this frieze is determined by the deeds of two men who seem to have started out with some mischievous deeds of their own before they became judges. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the novels discussed so far, the love-motif does not seem to have played a decisive role. Apparently we are dealing here with another category of romances — the adventure romance.

HISTORICAL ROMANCE

In the twilight between history and fiction stand the historical romances, in which legends grew like rank weeds around historical personages. Most famous and widely read was the Alexander romance of which two versions have come down to us, a Latin one by Julius Valerius, and a much more popular Greek one by the so-called Pseudo-Callisthenes.²⁶ There is evidence that the latter was illustrated already in antiquity, and when it was translated into Armenian, Serbian, and Latin, the pictures were copied with the text. Thus it happens that we have quite a number of illustrated Alexander romances in the languages just mentioned,²⁷ all descending from the same Greek pictorial archetype.

The two illustrated Greek Alexander romances we have today are not earlier than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,²⁸ but we do possess a few stray miniatures in the eleventh-century Pseudo-Oppian codex in Venice²⁹ which are rendered in the style of the Macedonian renaissance and thus still close to the classical archetype. These miniatures cannot be explained by the mere passing reference in the Pseudo-Oppian text which rather cryptically confines itself to the remark (I, 229f.), "Bucephalas the horse of the warrior King of Macedon, fought against armed men." On the other hand the pictures become perfectly clear and understandable when we read the Pseudo-Callisthenes text. Obviously we are dealing with migrated miniatures which were invented for the romance text and only later added to the original cycle of the animal and hunting scenes of the *Cynegetica*.

In the first (Fig. 112)³⁰ a mighty horse, inscribed Bucephalas, is brought by a groom to an enthroned ruler who is inscribed Philippos. The Pseudo-Callisthenes text which fully explains the picture has this to say (I, 13): "And once the chiefs of the horsekeepers from Cappadocia brought as a gift to Philip a horse, immensely large. . . ." The same text also explains the next scene (Fig. 113)³¹ in which the unbridled horse is put behind iron bars, and even such a small detail as the branded oxhead on the thigh of the horse is fully motivated by the Pseudo-Callisthenes text (I, 15). And before the *Cynegetica* text continues with the description of the characteristics of horses there is a third scene from the Alexander romance (II, 16) in which the heroic king, riding on Bucephalas, attacks and pursues the defeated Persian king Darius who is fleeing in a chariot. Obviously we have here selected scenes of a full cycle of the Alexander romance, from which the copyist chose even more scenes than was necessary or justified by the Pseudo-Oppian text.

Now the Alexander romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes is generally believed to have been written around the year 300 A.D., but this does not necessarily mean that the pictures were invented at

that time. The text, as has been demonstrated by literary historians, is not very original, but is merely a late link in a chain of collections of legends which seem to have started almost as soon as Alexander died. One might, therefore, justifiably ask whether one of these earlier Alexander romances was already illustrated so that the first illustrator of the Pseudo-Callisthenes could have copied from older pictorial prototypes in a similar way in which the writer used older sources.

This is more than a theoretical consideration since there is, as we believe, concrete evidence to support such an expectation. Among the first-century Iliac tablets there is a small fragment in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 114)³² which was identified by Garrucci more than 100 years ago, quite correctly, I believe, as the very episode of the Alexander romance in which a groom leads Bucephalas before King Philip.³³ Garrucci did not know the miniature of the Venetian manuscript, which is so similarly composed that a common archetype for the two representations seems self-evident. But the tablet is about three centuries earlier than the origin of the Pseudo-Callisthenes text. So if the plaque, like all the other Iliac tablets (Figs. 40, 43, 46-47, 50, 56), is to be derived from book illumination, it could only have been an earlier version of the Alexander romance no longer extant.

BUCOLIC ROMANCE

The best known of the ancient romances, widely read even in the Renaissance and highly praised by Goethe, is the pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus written most likely in the third century A.D.³⁴ It is a lone survivor of bucolic romances which transform and continue in prose a genre that started with Theocritus' *Idylls* in the semi-dramatic form of the *mimos*. Unfortunately, within the fairly large repertory of ancient bucolic monuments no sure identification has so far been made as far as our knowledge goes with any episode from Longus' romance,

although one expects this text to have attracted illustrators in classical times as it has still done in our own — I need only recall the charming woodcuts of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Maillol and Sintenis. For the time being we can only point at a few representations which have the very qualities we would expect from illustrations of a bucolic romance though the texts on which they depend have not survived. Again and again we must remind ourselves that only a fraction of Hellenistic literature in general has come down to us.

The Brooklyn Museum owns a set of four textile roundels which once served as decoration of a fifth century tunic and which are said to have come from Antinoë.³⁵ One of them (Fig. 115) depicts a young shepherd boy lying contentedly in the grass and playing the flute to which his dog listens attentively while another dog is joyfully licking a baby seated in the grass; a shepherd, resting in leisurely fashion on a rock, is pasturing his flocks; and a woman arrives, carrying her child in a bag over the back. It is a picture of happy and innocent country life, so typical of the bucolic literature and art of the Hellenistic Roman age as it was to be again in the eighteenth century.

The representations on the Brooklyn roundels have been associated by some scholars rather vaguely with Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*.³⁶ But there is, in our opinion, a basic difference between the roundels and the miniatures of the *Eclogues* as they have survived in the Virgilius Romanus (p. 89 and Fig. 98). The latter consist almost exclusively of "conversation groups," as one would more or less expect from a semi-dramatic *mimus*. True enough, there are also in the ancient novels long passages made up of conversations, but they contain descriptive passages of happy country life as well. By analogy, a similar distinction should be made between bucolic representations of the conversation type which best fit the *Idylls* and the *Eclogues* — although they may also occur in novels — and those of a more narrative character which have no place in a semi-dramatic

mimus but suit only the novel. To the latter type belong, in our opinion, the textile roundels.

What a bucolic miniature in classical antiquity looked like we can gather still more directly from copies in the same medium, that is, Byzantine miniatures which it is true are several centuries later than the Brooklyn roundels and actually date in the tenth century, but, being typical products of the Macedonian renaissance, they preserved the classical style in greater purity. These miniatures, executed in a free brush technique as we know it from a certain group of Pompeian wall paintings, are in the same Nicander manuscript in Paris of which we have seen the equally classical representation of the Gigantomachy (Fig. 105). Like the latter, they do not illustrate any specific passage in the Nicander text and therefore must come from another source. In one of them (Fig. 116)³⁷ a shepherd, clad in the typical *tunica exomis* and holding a shepherd's staff is moving hastily toward the right as if trying to escape the entreaties of a woman who kneels before him and extends her arms in a gesture of supplication; another woman, or rather girl, has just come from the fields and carries a bag, just as the woman on the textile carries her child. It is a highly dramatic composition, but whether it comes from a bucolic mimus like the *Idylls* or *Eclogues*, or from a bucolic novel cannot be established with absolute certainty; since it is not a conversation group as typical of the mimus it seems more probable that it was taken over from a bucolic romance.³⁸

ALLEGORICAL ROMANCE

Among still other categories of romances one more can be proved to have existed with illustrations, namely the allegorical romance, so well known from the Amor and Psyche story as it was in the second century A.D. incorporated by Apuleius in his *Golden Ass* (IV, 28–VI, 22). There has been quite a philological

dispute as to whether the Amor and Psyche novel in the form in which we know it, is an invention of Apuleius, and thus a product of Roman literature, or whether it is derived from a Hellenistic model. The first opinion was put forward by Otto Jahn,³⁹ the scholar to whom we owe the basic study of the Iliac tablets, whereas the Hellenistic theory had its main protagonist in Reitzenstein,⁴⁰ who supported his thesis by introducing, quite correctly as we believe, archaeological material, chiefly terra cottas found in Egypt, and concluded from this evidence that the story must have been familiar in this Greek-speaking part of the ancient world.

More recently the Egyptian material has been augmented by a piece of paramount importance: a drawing on papyrus from about the second century A.D. at the latest (Fig. 117),⁴¹ now in Florence and found at Oxyrhynchus, the place which had yielded so many papyri including the illustrated fragment of a Heracles epos in Oxford (Fig. 59). It represents Amor lying relaxed on a couch while Psyche, characterized by her butterfly wings, stands behind and offers an object which can no longer be identified so that the precise passage in Apuleius' story cannot be quoted. It is also unfortunate that the text, presumed to be above and below, is torn off. Artistically it is the finest and most sensitive papyrus drawing we have and reveals the high level which ancient papyrus illumination, at its best, could reach. Its importance is twofold: it greatly strengthens Reitzenstein's thesis of the Greek origin of the Amor and Psyche romance, since nobody will seriously argue that the script on the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, now lost, could have been anything but Greek; and it proves beyond doubt that this romance was illustrated in papyrus rolls.

In recent years, several mosaic panels with Amor and Psyche representations of great charm have come to light in Antioch. They prove the popularity of this story, not only in Egypt where Reitzenstein had tried to focus it, partly on the basis of

the Egyptian terra cottas, but also in Syria. Besides, they are of a higher quality and iconographically more elaborate and more precise. One of these Antioch mosaics (Fig. 118)⁴² shows Amor sleeping on a rock in the shadow of a tree on which he has hung up bow and quiver. Psyche approaches on tiptoe and, having already taken the bow, now tries to reach for the quiver, with the intention of removing one of the arrows which will prove fatal to her. It is almost a literal illustration of the Apuleius text (V, 23): "At the bed's feet lay his bow, quiver and arrows that be the gentle weapons of so great a god: which when Psyche did curiously behold, and marvelling at the weapons of her husband took one of the arrows out of the quiver. . . ." ⁴³ While this undoubtedly is the episode depicted in the mosaic, yet there is this difference that in the latter Amor does not lie in a bed, but on a rock, and the weapons are not at the bed's feet but hanging from a tree. One may well ask whether these differences are not those between the Greek literary model, to which the mosaicist may have adhered very faithfully, and the Roman version of Apuleius.

Reflecting on the fact that a first attempt to collect evidence for the illustration of the romance in the Hellenistic-Roman period has yielded material in almost every branch of this literary category, we begin to realize that for the history of ancient book illumination the romance must have possessed an importance only surpassed by that of the epic poem and the drama.

AESOPIAN FABLE

It has been said repeatedly that a prime requirement for a text to be illustrated is its popularity and fitness to pictorialization. What other prose texts, besides the romances, fulfill this requirement? One of them — and this leads us into a totally different field — is the moralizing animal fable, associated with the name of Aesop. With the original text no longer extant, we

have today only paraphrases, adaptations, and translations which exist in both forms — verse and prose.⁴⁴ The most important fable collection in Greek is that of Babrios from about the second century A.D., and in Latin that of Phaedrus, written in the time of Augustus, both in verse. Among the later Latin collections in prose, one that goes under the name of Romulus and the other by a certain Avianus from around 400, are of special importance to us, because these two have survived in later manuscript copies with picture cycles that hark back to earlier models, thus proving the existence of illustrated Aesop manuscripts in classical antiquity.

The problem faced with regard to the Aesop pictures is comparable to that of the constellation pictures in the *Aratea* (p. 24). The treatise of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus was likewise paraphrased in verse and prose by various writers like Germanicus, Cicero, Hyginus, and others. Of these we possess illustrated copies whose constellation pictures, however, are pretty much alike. This clearly indicates that a new text edition does not necessarily coincide with the creation of a new picture cycle, and the same situation seems to have prevailed with regard to the Aesop fables. This will make it difficult to distinguish picture-recensions; furthermore, when fable pictures were copied in other media, thus losing their tie with the text, in most cases it is no longer possible to determine the text version from which they were taken.

There is, for example, a Roman lamp in the British Museum (Fig. 119)⁴⁵ which contains a fable scene, in all probability — though this is not absolutely certain — that of the fox and the eagle.⁴⁶ The fox, dressed in a short garb, presumably that of a huntsman, pleads with the eagle in the tree to have his little ones returned, and when he is refused he brings some faggots from an altar in order to smoke out the eagle. Quite likely, as so many objects in relief terra cotta (see the Megarian bowls and Figs. 64, 65, 97),⁴⁷ the lamp picture depends on a miniature

as model which in some details had to be abbreviated in order to fit the round.

From the eleventh century we have a copy of the Romulus version of Aesop which was made in Limoges and today is in the library of Leiden.⁴⁸ Almost a hundred fable pictures are quite loosely distributed over twenty-two pages in rather simple line drawings which in some respects still reveal the classical descent although, in others, they have gone pretty far in the process of transformation into a medieval style. One of the drawings (Fig. 120)⁴⁹ depicts the same scene of the fox and the eagle, but in greater detail than the space of the lamp permitted and with greater preciseness as one would expect from a miniature which is still connected with the explanatory text. A heraldic eagle holds the young fox in his claws, while he turns to the fox on the ground who holds in his mouth a long faggot which has already been kindled at the altar at the right. There is, however, one basic difference as far as the representation of the fox is concerned: in the lamp he is semi-human in his upright pose, his mantle, and his manner of holding the faggots in his front paws, while in the miniature he is a complete animal in form and behavior and holds the faggot in his mouth. Do these differences indicate different recensions or did one type develop out of the other? We shall come back to this point.

The second manuscript with Aesop illustrations is a Carolingian codex in Paris which contains the fables according to Avianus.⁵⁰ Only nine of them have survived with their miniatures which are just as rough, or even rougher, than those of the Leiden Romulus, but they are more spaciouly laid out and fill the interstices of the writing columns more in conformity with the rules of papyrus illustration, and in this respect the general impression is even closer to the classical model.

One of the pictures (Fig. 121)⁵¹ illustrates the story of the peasant woman who tells her infant not to cry lest the wolf come and devour him. The woman, dressed in a kind of himation

of classical origin, addresses her naked and oversized infant, while at the right the wolf emerges from behind a bush. In a second strip, the wolf is repeated, meeting the she-wolf as he tries to defend himself against the accusations of having returned without a prey. This is not the only miniature in which a single fable is illustrated in two consecutive phases, while in others two are conflated.⁵² Thus it looks as if the archetype, in the best tradition of story-telling narrative, had not confined itself to the principle of one picture for each fable but employed the principle of dividing one episode into several phases.

SATIRICAL FABLE

Yet the moralizing fable which generally is understood to be the Aesopian, was not the only kind of animal fable current in the Hellenistic world. There is in Berlin a fragment of a Hellenistic relief bowl (Fig. 122) which was found in Alexandria⁵³ and depicts an animal frieze made up chiefly of cats who play musical instruments, the flute, the harp, and the cymbals. They perform under the watchful eye of an eagle who carries a sceptre and obviously is their peaceful ruler. This is the story of the reversed kingdom in which those animals who are natural enemies feast and play together. Now, whenever we have met Hellenistic relief bowls with scenic representations they have turned out to be reflections of illustrated books such as the epic poems of the Trojan cycle (Figs. 44, 45, 48, 49, 53, 57, 58), a Heracles poem (Fig. 60), Greek tragedies (Figs. 73-75, 89, 90) and a *mimus* (Fig. 96). Consequently, we would also expect this fable representation to be derived from an illustrated book, and in this case we can actually prove it.

The same kind of animal fable with the reversed kingdom is depicted on several Egyptian papyri from about the XIX or XX dynasty, and on one of them, now in London (Fig. 123)⁵⁴ one notices a similar flute-playing animal — this time a fox instead

of a cat. In the Egyptian papyrus, however, the animal is not a member of an orchestra, but a goatherd, driving home the goats with music, while a cat does the same with a flock of geese. There are other animals involved, and one of the very amusing scenes is that of a lion playing chess with a goat. The iconographic connection between the terra-cotta bowl and the Egyptian papyrus is self-evident and all that remains to be discussed is the way of transmission.⁵⁵ Did the terra-cotta workers copy directly from ancient Egyptian scrolls or, what seems much more plausible, were these satirical animal fables translated from Egyptian into Greek and copied with their pictures in Greek papyrus rolls as an intermediary step? No Greek text has, as far as we know, survived which would explain the satirical fables of either the London papyrus or the Berlin terra-cotta bowl; thus, the latter may well be adduced as evidence for the existence of an otherwise lost branch of Hellenistic literature. This would be only one more instance where illustrated Egyptian texts had a direct influence upon the Greek. We noticed it already in the case of the astronomical papyrus in the Louvre (p. 6 and Fig. 2) and it can likewise be demonstrated in the fields of magic and erotic papyri.⁵⁶

It will be remembered that on the lamp in the British Museum (Fig. 119) the fox, contrary to the later miniature version in the Romulus and the Avianus manuscripts, was rendered upright and with human behavior, just as we have now seen it in the satirical fables. Consequently, one may, with due reservation, put forth the hypothesis that the Aesop illustration began, perhaps under the influence of the satirical fable illustration, with humanized animals, and later changed into animals with animal behavior. This would mean a change from a more poetical to a more naturalistic concept, a change which in a certain way corresponds to that from a versified to a prose version.

No history of ancient book illumination would be complete without a discussion of author portraits. In medieval manuscripts they outrank, numerically, any other type of miniature, and although we do not have a single papyrus fragment with a portrait from classical antiquity, we know for sure not only that they existed but that they were produced in very great numbers. Our testimony is Pliny (N.H. XXXV,²) who says concerning Marcus Varro that he "conceived the very liberal idea of inserting by some means or other the portraits of 700 individuals . . ." and that "he transmitted them too, to all parts of the earth so that everywhere it might be possible for them to be present. . . ."

This statement is of the utmost importance for two reasons: it proves that collections of biographies, which we know to have gained a considerable popularity in the Hellenistic period, were indeed illustrated with portraits — and to depict 700 of them was no small enterprise; and that they were transmitted to all parts of the world in what would be called today a large edition. Since Varro lived in the first century B.C., i.e., before the invention of the codex, his collection of the Lives of Famous Men, entitled *Hebdomades*,⁵⁷ because they were grouped in sevens, could only have been invented in papyrus scrolls. We know that the whole material was grouped in fifteen books, corresponding most likely with fifteen separate scrolls, in which always a set of seven Greeks were juxtaposed with seven Romans.⁵⁸ Scholars have speculated on the form and arrangement of these 700 portraits,⁵⁹ but before we try to give an answer of our own we should like first to examine the visual evidence for portraits in ancient rolls in general.

The Vatican Virgil manuscript from the early fifth century has at the end of the sixth book the offset of a medallion from the opposite page now lost,⁶⁰ and the few traces of color suggest that it contained the author's portrait in bust-form, prefacing the

seventh book of the *Aeneid*. But if the seventh book had an author portrait, then we would expect each one of the other eleven books to have had one too. Such a repetition may seem extravagant in a codex, but in the original form of twelve separate rolls, which correspond with the twelve books into which the *Aeneid* is divided, each roll as a physical entity would have had its own portrait at the beginning. This is one of the considerations which, in our opinion, justifies the assumption of an illustrated archetype in the form of papyrus rolls.

A portrait of Virgil in front of his works can be proved to have existed at least as early as the end of the first century A.D. although it is in this case already a codex and no longer a roll. There is an epigram by Martial⁶¹ in which astonishment is expressed over the fact that Virgil is now available in small-size parchment leaves — meaning obviously the newly invented codex format — and that the first leaf bears the features of the man himself, in other words, an author portrait. Most likely it was of the same kind as the lost Virgil medallions in the Vatican codex.

Another example of the medallion portrait is that of Terence which adorns the Carolingian manuscript in the Vatican (Fig. 124),⁶² already discussed in connection with the scenic illustrations of his comedies (p. 85 and Figs. 93, 95). Basically this type of clipeus (medallion portrait) is the same as that which must have adorned the Vatican Virgil manuscript, but in the meantime two significant changes have taken place both of which have to do with the change from roll to codex: first, the medallion, suitable for a writing column of limited width in a papyrus roll would be floating on a huge, almost square codex page, and, consequently, the Terence illustrator made accretions by placing the medallion in the center of an easel panel, resting in turn on a pedestal, and lets it be held by two actors; and, second, the portrait is no longer repeated in front of each play as we would assume in a series of rolls, but one is now considered sufficient

for the codex that holds all the comedies that have come down to us.

Another Carolingian manuscript in the Vatican, containing a collection of ancient treatises on surveying and written in Fulda, shows on the first page (Fig. 125),⁶³ in a very classical style, the portrait of a youthful emperor in medallion form. He cannot be identified because of the lack of any accompanying inscription, but apparently is meant to be the emperor to whom the collection of treatises was dedicated. After its completion the artist began with a second medallion portrait, this time a bearded emperor,⁶⁴ which he did not finish. In our opinion, the illustrator must have worked from a model in which a series of portraits followed each other at short intervals, as they did in the collection of *Viri Illustres* by Varro where they were separated from each other by only a couplet.⁶⁵ Of course, Varro's biographies written in the first century B.C. could not have contained emperor portraits; but his Books II and III, which comprised famous generals and rulers, may very well have had a kind of arrangement similar to that of the emperor medallions. Apparently the copyist, after having completed the first portrait, had just started with the second when he realized that there was no motivation for it and therefore left it unfinished.

There is additional evidence for linking the medallion with serial portraiture. The Ambrosian Library in Milan possesses a late Byzantine medical manuscript which has, inserted into its writing columns, more than sixty portraits of famous physicians, all of them in the format of medallion busts.⁶⁶ They are brought up to date in costume, like that of Galen (Fig. 126), wearing a fashionable, late Byzantine headgear. While it is very tempting, where such a comparatively great number of portraits of one group of professionals is involved, to think that the system of Varro's *Hebdomades* is here reflected — his tenth book actually did comprise biographies of doctors — it could nevertheless not have been this very collection itself but only a similar one of a

somewhat later date, since the Milan set contains physicians who lived later, including, of course, Galen himself.

Serial portraiture in medallion form was continued — even on a large scale — in Christian writings. In a ninth-century codex of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus in Paris ⁶⁷ there are about 1300 portraits, almost all of them in medallion or in bust-form, a few standing and seated authors being the exceptions. Among the almost 100 portraits of Sirach (Fig. 127) there are many which show him dressed in an imperial chlamys and wearing a pearl diadem, not very suitable for the historical Sirach who was a teacher and a scholar. Apparently there was no tradition for his portrait, and the painter seems to have imitated that of King Solomon. At the same time both the Sirach and the Solomon portraits resemble the emperor medallion in the Vatican Agrimensorum manuscript (Fig. 125), and this indicates that the ultimate prototypes for the Christian illustrator were such emperor portraits which he simply renamed.

Yet the medallion was apparently not the only type of portrait in ancient rolls. The tenth-century Virgil manuscript in Naples ⁶⁸ has, in front of the first book of the *Aeneid*, a standing figure of the author, beardless as in the classical tradition of Virgil portraits ⁶⁹ and dressed in a toga (Fig. 128).⁷⁰ He reads from an open scroll which, in order to form the loop of the initial P, is held up in an unrealistic manner, whereas the figure of the poet himself forms the hasta of the initial. The standing literatus, reading in a scroll is a well-known type in classical art ⁷¹ and, in spite of its ornamentalization as an initial, the classical origin of this Virgil figure is just as evident as that of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogue* scenes of the same manuscript (Figs. 70, 100). Equally important is the fact that the codex possesses still another author figure, likewise reading in a scroll and cast into the form of the letter P, in front of Book X of the *Aeneid*.⁷² Just as in the case of the Vatican Virgil manuscript this speaks, once more, for a type of illustration which had an author portrait in front of every book, thus

reflecting the tradition of separate rolls. Consequently, we come to believe that the standing and reading author is about as old in ancient roll illustration as the medallion bust.

There is still another piece of evidence for the standing and reading author in a classical monument proper. In the bronze disk of the Villa di Papa Giulio (p. 77 and Fig. 87) ⁷³ which, as will be remembered, contains a series of miniature-like illustrations to the *Bacchae* of Euripides plus the introductory picture of the catalogue of the masks exactly as in the Terence manuscripts, there stands in the upper left a figure holding an unfolded scroll as if reading from it. He is the only figure of the disk without a mask and, therefore, can hardly be anyone but the author himself, that is, Euripides, who in the manuscript would take the first place, even preceding the mask picture.⁷⁴ For a papyrus roll with its comparatively narrow writing columns the standing figure is, indeed, well suited. If the proposed interpretation is correct, then the medallion portrait as we have seen it in front of the Carolingian Terence manuscript (Fig. 124) would not be the only form of author portrait preceding the text of an ancient drama. One only wonders why there is not more evidence for the tradition of the standing portrait in medieval copies of ancient texts. The most likely explanation, as we believe, is that after the change from roll to codex the seated type gradually became so predominant that it superseded the standing one.

When the Christians commenced to add portrait figures to various books of the Bible they also adapted the standing type and used it to a considerable extent. Quite likely they did so at a time when the roll was still the prevailing form and the standing type the more common one. The prophets especially appear in this pose in two forms: either holding the scroll closed in the left hand like the well-known Demosthenes statue, or open and reading in it like Euripides and Virgil. In an eleventh-century menologion in Paris which at the end has a commentary to the

twelve minor prophets, the prophet Obadiah, for example (Fig. 129),⁷⁵ is depicted with an open scroll, in the reading of which he just seems to pause and take notice of the beholder. This prophet figure is but an adaptation of a classical poet or philosopher not unlike the figure on the bronze disk (Fig. 87) which we believe to be Euripides.⁷⁶

After the codex was firmly established, by far the most frequent type of author portrait is the seated one, which fits so well the shape of a codex leaf. In the *Virgilius Romanus*⁷⁷ — of which we already discussed a picture from the *Aeneid* (p. 61 and Fig. 69) and one from the *Eclogues* (p. 89 and Fig. 98) — the poet himself is depicted three times in a seated frontal position, not, however, in front of individual books of the *Aeneid*, but of the second (Fig. 130), fourth, and sixth *Eclogue*. This repetition of the author reflects the roll tradition, and thus it becomes very likely that the seated portrait also existed in papyrus rolls. We must envisage an archetype in which each *Eclogue* was written on a separate, though short, roll with its own author portrait at the beginning.

Besides, there are good formal reasons for assuming such a shift from roll to codex. It will be noticed that the seated Virgil does not occupy the full page but only an interstice within the writing columns as do the narrative scenes in papyrus style (cf. Figs. 59, 107). The figure seems almost to float in the broad space allotted to it and, in order to prevent the impression of emptiness, the illustrator has added a lectern on the one side and a capsula for the scrolls on the other; pieces of furniture that seem curiously unrelated to the author who seemingly has no intention of using the lectern, and thus these objects left and right reveal themselves as filling motifs. The Virgil figure alone would best fit at the head of a narrower writing column in a scroll, and what we see in the Vatican miniature is the result of a not too successful adjustment to the codex format.

After the invention of the codex a tendency developed to

reserve whole pages for miniatures alone and to set them apart from the text in whose columns they had been intercalated. We have already seen such a collective miniature page in the case of the ornithological treatise in the Vienna Dioscurides manuscript of the sixth century (Fig. 18) where the new system, however, had only been used for the third book, while the first and second have the birds still placed individually within the writing columns. Exactly the same principle of collecting has been applied by the illustrator of the same manuscript for two frontispieces with portraits of famous pharmacologists who are grouped by sevens in a kind of abstract horseshoe pattern against a gold ground (Fig. 131).⁷⁸ The scale of the individual portrait figures was probably not much altered in this transfer, but, by crowding seven of them into an almost square surface area, the artist dispensed with the chairs, for all but Galen in the center, for lack of space, supplanting them by a piece of ground which is hardly suitable for a pensive philosopher-type, and which resulted in a distortion of the seated pose.⁷⁹

The fact that the pharmacologists are united by sevens led some scholars to believe that, on the one hand, the pictures depend on Varro's *Hebdomades* and, on the other, that behind them stands as model a composition of the seven wise men as they occur in Roman mosaics⁸⁰ and that, in the course of a progressing abstraction typical of the late classical period, the spatial relationship got lost.⁸¹ As against this evolutionary idea it may be pointed out that the illustrators of the period in which the Vienna Dioscurides was made, were still quite capable — in spite of increasing abstractions — to preserve the semicircular arrangement in compositions of discussion groups to such an extent that the idea of communication among the participants and of a spatial coherence was not entirely lost. One needs only to point at the assemblies of gods in the Milan Iliad⁸² or in the Virgilius Romanus⁸³ of the sixth to seventh centuries where the abstractions in general go much further than in the Vienna

Dioscurides. In the latter, on the contrary, the classical tradition as a whole is much better preserved than in any other manuscript of the sixth century as may be judged from the miniature with Dioscurides and Heuresis (Fig. 134). All this does, of course, not exclude the possibility that the Byzantine painter, by choosing the number seven, was, though not compositionally, so at least ideologically influenced by the concept of the seven wise men, and that he tried to establish some kind of interrelation between figures that were conceived as isolated individuals.

If this theory is correct, then the only other problem to be considered is whether the model was a collection of biographies like Varro's *Imagines*, or a medical compendium in which each treatise had its own author portrait. The fact that the number of portraits, compared with the set of more than sixty medallions in the Milan manuscript (p. 118 and Fig. 126) is rather restricted, and further that the text of the Vienna manuscript has the character of a medical compendium, favors the second alternative. The figures of the mythical Chiron and Macaon would in such a compendium have been title miniatures to the whole, being thus honored as the venerated ancestors of the medical profession, just as, for example, in a Latin Pseudo-Apuleius herbal in Kassel⁸⁴ Aescolapius Medicus Magister is depicted in a frontispiece in the guise of an author rather than as a god.

Returning to the initial problem as to the possible and probable form of the portrait in Varro's *Imagines*, one must admit that a study of the documentary evidence does not solve it, since, apparently, all three types — the medallion bust, the standing, and the seated portrait — already occur in the roll tradition and, consequently, each could, theoretically, have existed in the Varro rolls. Thus one is left to more general considerations of which type suits best the enormous task of depicting 700 portraits, and here I would definitely give preference to the medallion portrait. The medallion was the most economical for the mass production

of serial portraiture; this is proved by the evidence from later manuscripts like the medical treatise in Milan (Fig. 126) and the *Sacra Parallela* in Paris with its several hundred medallions of Saints (Fig. 127).

Having stressed so much the papyrus roll as the chief vehicle of ancient book illumination, it should not be overlooked that the invention of the codex at the end of the first century A.D.⁸⁵ still falls within the classical period, and that some early changes in the illustration due to the new format took place in Roman imperial times.⁸⁶ These changes affect the author portraits more than the narrative scenes. Being less firmly anchored in the text but placed at the beginning as a rather independent unit, the illustrator was more or less forced in a codex to devote to an author portrait a whole page, whereas in the roll the top of the first writing column was sufficient. In the case of the medallion portrait, as already seen in the Terence manuscript (Fig. 124), accretions had to be made in order to fill the free space around it, but the standing and seated authors could more easily be enlarged and where this was not sufficient, an architectural setting was placed behind or a decorative frame around the portraits.

One of the very few Latin author portraits we have from the pre-Carolingian period is a pen drawing of an unnamed surveyor in the *Agrimensores* codex in Wolfenbüttel from the sixth to seventh century (Fig. 132).⁸⁷ The bearded author, dressed in ancient fashion in only a mantle, sits on a marble bench holding a scroll in his left hand and raising his right, "digitis computans," as one scholar explained this gesture. Though vastly increased in scale, compared with the pharmacologists in the Vienna Dioscurides, the artist did not dare to fill the entire available surface area of a large codex leaf exclusively with the portrait figure and, therefore, he placed it under an architectural structure with a conch in the pediment that is supported by two columns suggesting colored marble. Basically this is the same architectural feature as that which appears in a Greek

Gospelbook in Philotheu on Mount Athos ⁸⁸ behind the evangelist Mark. Here it clearly depicts the Porta Regia in the center of the *scenae frons* of the Roman theater. In the Wolfenbüttel miniature the Porta Regia had been isolated and changed from a backdrop into a decorative frame. This presupposes a certain development within the codex tradition since the theater architecture itself as seen in the Greek Gospel miniature is a feature which could have been adapted only to a codex page under the influence of monumental painting.

The possibilities of expanding the title miniature and adding to the author portrait not only a decorative frame but other human figures as well are many. The Middle Ages took full advantage of these possibilities, but the beginnings of these expansions apparently reach back into the late classical period. Of the greatest consequence for the history of book illumination in general was the invention of the "dedication picture," in which the author talks or offers his opus to a ruler, another poet, or some other dignitary. In the Carolingian codex of the Fables of Avianus in Paris, for example (Fig. 133),⁸⁹ the author sits on an ornamented bench while Theodosius Macrobius, to whom the collection of fables is dedicated, sits comfortably in a wicker chair holding the scroll he has just received. In spite of distortions and ornamentalizations by the not too competent Carolingian copyist, one still feels that the two figures were not conceived as a homogeneous group. The half-naked Macrobius in the wicker chair represents an older type, whereas Avianus with his embroidered garments fits the period in which the fables were written, that is around 400 A.D. It looks as if, for the figure of Macrobius, the artist had chosen a conventional type of an earlier poet and had changed what originally had been an author portrait of its own into a recipient of someone else's writing. That a certain type of and a distinct pose of a poet persist while his name changes is nothing strange in an age where the concept of plagiarism did not exist, and in the following example we shall

deal with a miniature (Fig. 134) which proves this very point of a shift of identity. In the model of the Avianus manuscript the two figures, the author and the recipient, were quite possibly not united on the same page but filled two antithetic pages. The Paris miniature, in this case, would have to be considered as a conflated frontispiece so to speak.⁹⁰

Another kind of accretion is the introduction of a personification who becomes associated with the author in different ways. In one of the several frontispieces of the Dioscurides manuscript in Vienna (Fig. 134)⁹¹ the bearded author sits comfortably in an easy chair, holding a scroll in his left hand and thrusting out the right in a gesture of speech as if he were teaching. Although the inscription identifies him as Dioscurides it has convincingly been shown that the facial type is not that of Dioscurides as we know him from a second frontispiece⁹² and from the second group portrait (Fig. 131 upper right), but rather that of Crateuas of whom we have an inscribed portrait in the same group picture (Fig. 131 upper left).⁹³ Since it is known that Dioscurides in his herbal incorporated plants from the older Crateuas herbal, it is most likely that a Crateuas portrait was already, together with the plants, taken over into the archetype of Dioscurides and that only the inscription was changed. We would then assume that in the original Crateuas herbal from the first century B.C. the introductory miniature consisted of but the seated author at the top of a writing column in a papyrus roll and that it became more elaborate only after its transfer into a codex of the Dioscurides herbal when there were added an architectural setting and the personification of Heuresis who holds the mandragora plant in her hand while the dog which had dug out the root is seen dying from it. In such a composition the author figure proper lost its central position since now he has to share the surface area with the almost equally prominent personification. In this way there came into being a scenic composition in which the illustrator began to compete with panel or fresco painting

from which he must have gotten the inspiration for the accretions. The invention of the codex was responsible for the greater artistic freedom of the miniature painter who began to unfold such artistic energies that in the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages miniature painting became a leading, if not the leading, branch within the representational arts.

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RATHER than to try to summarize the observations in which an attempt was made to connect often heterogeneous monuments of different periods from the point of view of common manuscript archetypes, I should like to conclude with some questions and an outlook. The troubling question which still remains in our mind is not so much whether the evidence has been sufficient in each derivative monument to prove the dependence on an illustrated manuscript, but rather whether at least the major categories of texts that were illustrated in classical antiquity have been traced.

Some groups of texts for which we even have direct evidence in form of illustrated papyrus fragments or manuscripts dependent on the papyrus tradition have been left out purposely. Writings on magic, astrology, alchemy, mantic, and related fields have been passed over because they lead into a substratum of literature, and their illustrations, interesting as they may be for the historian of religion, science, and other disciplines, are either unartistic and crude, or consist of mere diagrams which in principle would not add much to what was discussed in the chapter on mathematics and applied mathematics.

Another category left out is geography. A comparatively great number of manuscripts of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy contain a map of the world as known at that time and more than sixty maps of individual countries which surely must have existed in the second-century archetype of Ptolemy's work, although none of the existing manuscripts is older than the thirteenth century. Moreover, the first illustrators of the Ptolemy maps in all likelihood did not invent the designing of maps in

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books, be it roll or codex, but they relied on older sources exactly as Dioscurides in his *Materia Medica* had relied on older illustrated herbals. But maps are a special branch of illustrations, somewhat more loosely connected with the descriptive text than are either scientific diagrams or narrative scenes in literary texts; therefore they do not contribute much to our special problem of the relation between picture and text in ancient book illumination. Besides, the Ptolemy maps are thoroughly treated in Fischer's monumental publication.¹

For similar reasons no paragraph on illustrated calendar manuscripts is included. A picture set of the Labors of the Months surely must have existed in manuscripts even before the well-known Filocalus calendar of the year 354 with its splendid full-page miniatures which have survived only in seventeenth-century drawings.² But also this picture set is less firmly anchored in the text compared with the scientific, didactic, and literary illustrations discussed in this study, in which the pictures were made for the text. In the calendar manuscripts, vice versa, the pictures existed first and the explanatory lines of writing were made *ad hoc* for the pictures. This raises special problems of the relation between text and picture which have been discussed in Stern's thorough treatment of the illustrated calendar.³

Among the texts of high literary level our best evidence has been for epic poetry and drama, especially Homer and Euripides. Yet in dealing with poetical texts, the question as to the possible illustration of lyric poetry has not even been raised. Is it not conceivable, in the light of widespread use of mythological illustrations in epos and drama, that also the Homeric hymns, for example, were illustrated with mythological scenes? This is more than a rhetorical question since one can actually point to some evidence that would support such a claim. Our most valuable source for the reconstruction of illustrated texts, as will be remembered, was that class of Megarian bowls that were decorated with literary subject matter. One such bowl in London⁴

depicts the Rape of Persephone for which the Demeter hymn is the ultimate source and thus it must at least be considered as a possibility that this bowl stems directly or indirectly from an illustrated Demeter hymnus. It is not accidental that Robert introduced this bowl in connection with a large group of Roman sarcophagi⁵ which depict about half a dozen scenes that can be explained by the text of this hymn and, consequently, they, too, like so many sarcophagi with epic and dramatic subjects, may be derived from a richly illustrated roll. The point has repeatedly been made that narrow lids of sarcophagi in particular, where a series of concise and separable scenes are lined up, reflect miniatures. A lid in the Villa Borghese contains a series of scenes for the interpretation of which Robert had introduced the Homeric hymn of Apollo.⁶ Is it, then, too far-fetched to think of an illustrated Apollo hymnus as the actual source? Here a still unexplored chapter of book illumination needs further investigation.

On the other hand, one would hardly expect illustrations in the writings of philosophers whose tendency toward abstract thinking and theorizing results in a kind of literature which is not too stimulating to an illustrator. One cannot very well visualize the writings of Plato and Aristotle with illustrations save that the more scientific treatises of the latter had the usual diagrammatic schemes. At the same time it would not be wise to exclude philosophical writings in principle from the chance of having, in special cases, been illustrated. There are in the Hellenistic-Roman period moralizing philosophers who, in discussing different ways of life, use extensively allegorical images which would lend themselves quite easily to pictorialization. One such piece of writing is the *Pinax* of a certain Kebes who probably lived in the first century A.D.,⁷ and there is evidence that his allegorical representation of life in the Platonic-Pythagorean spirit was indeed illustrated. The sketchbook of Giovannantonio Dosio includes a drawing of a marble plaque which is lost today⁸

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but seems to have belonged either to the so-called Iliac tablets proper or some group of reliefs related to them, that is, to a group of monuments that is particularly closely dependent on illustrated books. This relief is filled with various allegorical figures who are partly inscribed and it has been shown that these figures illustrate the *Pinax* of Kebes.

In dealing with portraiture we centered on the problem of the *Imagines* of Varro where the literary record is very explicit in stating that there was a couplet under each portrait which, as may be remembered, raised the question whether these portraits were medallion busts, standing or seated figures. But Varro's *Viri Illustres* is a rather special case of biographical writing in encyclopedic form. Early Hellenistic, peripatetic writers like Satyrus and Hermippus wrote lengthier vitae of famous personalities, often gossipy and full of anecdotes.⁹ Could such biographies have contained pictures which were not confined to just the three types of portraits discussed in connection with Varro but which were more elaborate? Of special interest in this context is a passage by Hunayn ibn Ishak, the ninth-century Nestorian physician and lexicographer at the court of Baghdad who states that in the old rolls from which he translated the Greek authors into Syriac and Arabic, at the beginning of each book of a philosopher there was depicted a figure of him sitting on a high seat before which his pupils are standing. Here we have the description of a scenic picture and the fact that Hunayn explicitly states that his models were rolls suggests that they indeed were ancient.

Learned historical writings like those of Thucydides and Livy, in spite of their predominantly narrative content, would hardly seem inviting to an illustrator. What he is looking for in the field of history is the more popular type of world chronicle. Actually the Berlin Museum possesses a parchment page of such a chronicle from as early as the turn of the fourth to the fifth century,¹⁰ where in three narrow writing columns no less than five scenes

of martyrdom and the like are depicted. Quite similar is the fragment of an eleventh-century parchment leaf in Merseburg¹¹ which contains the text of the Ravennate *Annales* of the fifth century. Its numerous abbreviated martyrdom scenes, distributed over three writing columns, look very much like those in the Berlin leaf and thus permit the assumption of a fifth-century archetype for the illustrations as well. Best known is the Alexandrian Worldchronicle of which an extensive and richly illustrated fragment of a papyrus codex that has been dated in the fifth century exists in the Museum of Moscow.¹² Since obviously none of these three extant fragments marks the beginning of chronicle illustration, how far back can its invention be assumed to have taken place? These and similar questions will have to be answered, and still other branches of literature to be investigated with regard to their chances of having once existed with picture cycles before one sees more clearly the delimitations of classical book illumination.

It, thus, becomes apparent that many textual possibilities must pass through one's mind if one has to deal with fragmentary papyrus illustrations that have not enough writing left to identify even the category of text for which they were made. One of the artistically finest pictures on papyrus in Oxford from about the fifth century (Fig. 135)¹³ depicts a group of charioteers who belong to the green, red, and blue faction, and, since the scene is incomplete, the fourth — the white — faction may also have been represented. To what kind of text does this scene belong? *Iliad* XXIII where charioteers occur at the funeral games in honor of Patroclus, is out of the question, because Homer mentions only five and the papyrus represents six. Was it perhaps a historical text and has it something to do with an event that took place in the hippodrome of Constantinople?

Another fragment from a second-century roll, now in Florence, has, below a few lines of writing, a charming figure of Hermes Psychopompos, the Hermes who leads the souls into

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Hades (Fig. 136).¹⁴ It has been suggested that this fragment belonged to a religious, funerary text.¹⁵ Yet the figure could also be out of a mythological context. Hermes looking at Alcestis whom he leads into Hades would look no different in an illustration of the Euripidean *Alcestis* (cf. Figs. 84, 85). These are the uncertainties one will encounter in dealing with such *disiecta membra* as shreds of papyri.

Finally, a few remarks may be permitted on the profound influence which classical book illumination exercised upon Christian art. If the former really was a branch of art as diversified and widely spread as I have tried to demonstrate, would one not expect that the Christians profited from it when they began to illustrate the Bible, instead of trying to invent an entirely new imagery for their new belief?

In one recension of Septuagint illustrations to the book of Genesis, believed to have originated in Alexandria, the story of the Creation of Adam is depicted in the three phases of the Shaping, the Enlivenment, and the Animation.¹⁶ They correspond exactly with the three phases of the Creation of Man by Prometheus on Roman sarcophagi, and this coincidence, in our opinion, can only be explained by the assumption that the first illustrator of the Genesis used as classical model an illustrated mythological handbook that contained the Prometheus story in just the way in which we see it on the sarcophagi. In the same context a miniature of the Books of Kings was discussed in which David, after the slaying of Goliath, carries the head of the giant, contrary to the Bible text, high up on the top of his lance¹⁷ — an idea we believe to have been inspired by a scene from the fourteenth book of the *Iliad* in which the severed head of Ilioneus is impaled in a similar way on the lance in order to frighten the fleeing Trojans. In another biblical scene of a Byzantine manuscript, Abraham is depicted sacrificing Isaac who is trying to run away instead of kneeling submissively upon the altar, just as the little Orestes boy, in an illustration of the Eu-

ripidean *Telephus* tries to run away when Telephus threatens to kill him.¹⁸

In the present study, it has been pointed out that, in a mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore (Fig. 102), with Moses guarding the flocks of Jethro two more shepherds can best be explained by an illustrated *Eclogue* of Virgil. These examples may suffice to demonstrate that the first illustrators of the Bible actually used the very illustrated texts which we believe to have been among the most popular ones in classical antiquity: mythological handbook, Homeric poem, Euripidean tragedy, and bucolic poetry.

This impact of classical illustration was, of course, especially strong at the time when Christian artists, or, preceding them, Hellenized Jewish artists, started to illustrate the Bible with enormous narrative cycles which, right at the beginning, must have rivaled the classical models in the extensiveness of their picture cycles.¹⁹ Yet this influence was not limited to the formative phase of Early Christian art, but reappears in later centuries, especially at the time of the Macedonian renaissance. At about the tenth century the New Testament cycle was partly remodeled, and for the Anastasis picture, for example, a new type of Christ was introduced which clearly is derived from a Heracles who drags Cerberus out of Hell, exactly as Christ drags Adam out of Hell.²⁰ A Heracles miniature was, in all likelihood, the starting point for this new iconography.

What is most important is the realization that the Christian illustrators looked at classical models, not only from the artistic point of view, trying to learn the vocabulary of classical forms so to speak, but that they were conscious of the content and the meaning of the models they copied. The illustrator of the Creation of Adam must have remembered the Prometheus myth and known how to go about finding illustrations of it. The same literary learnedness must be assumed for the illustrator of the Books of Kings who remembered the Ilioneus episode when depicting David's triumph and gave it a touch of terrifying

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horror; and also for the illustrator of Isaac's sacrifice who remembered that the attempted killing of the boy Orestes by Telephus had actually not taken place and was, therefore, a most suitable parallel to the biblical scene. And surely even the Middle Byzantine artist who made the assimilation of Heracles and Christ must have been conscious of the meaning of his model when he let Christ hold the cross as a symbol of victory over death in exactly the same way as Heracles his club.

Thus, the reconstruction of classical book illumination serves a dual purpose: on the one hand, to fill a gap in the history of Hellenistic-Roman art, and, on the other, to gather the most diversified material with which to build a strong foundation for a history of the illustration of the Bible and other Christian texts.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

A.B. *Art Bulletin*

A.J.A. *American Journal of Archaeology*

Bethe, *B.B.A.* Erich Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum* (aus dem Nachlass hrsg. von Ernst Kirsten), Leipzig 1945

Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad*. Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Ilias Ambrosiana)*, Olten 1955

Birt, *Buchrolle*. Theodor Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig 1907

Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*. Paul Buberl, *Die Byzantinischen Handschriften*, vol. I (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, vol. VIII, pt. 4), Leipzig 1937

Courby, *V.G.R.* F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris 1922

Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.* Stan. J. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie* (with English résumé), Cracow 1928

Goldschmidt, *Carol. Illum.* Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination, Vol. I, Carolingian Period*, New York (s.d.)

Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*. Otto Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn 1873

J.d.I. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*

J.H.St. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*

J.R.St. *The Journal of Roman Studies*

Omont, *Min.* Henri Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2nd ed., Paris 1929

R.M. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*

Robert, *Becher*. Carl Robert, *Homerische Becher* (50. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm), Berlin 1890

Robert, *Sark.* Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Vols. II and III, 1-3, Berlin 1890-1919

Robert, *Herm.* Carl Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin 1919

Séchan, *Etudes*. Louis Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926

Thiele, *Ant.Lib. Pict.* Georg Thiele, *De Antiquorum Libris Pictis Capita Quattuor*, Marburg 1897

Weitzmann, *B.B.* Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrh.*, Berlin 1935

Weitzmann, *Antioch III*. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the mosaics of Antioch, Antioch-on-the-Orontes III*, Princeton 1941, pp. 233ff.

Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*. Kurt Weitzmann, *Three 'Bactrian' silver ves-*

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- sels with illustrations from Euripides," *A.B.* XXV, 1943, pp. 289ff.
- Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination No. 2), Princeton 1947
- Weitzmann, *Euripides*. Kurt Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia* XVIII, 1949, pp. 159ff.
- Weitzmann, *Mythol.* Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination No. 4), Princeton 1951
- Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.* Kurt Weitzmann, "The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations," *Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, New York 1952, pp. 244ff.
- Weitzmann, *Kl.Erbe*. Kurt Weitzmann, "Das klassische Erbe in der Kunst Konstantinopels," *Alte und Neue Kunst III*, 1954, pp. 41ff.

INTRODUCTION

1. The oldest illustrated papyrus roll known is the so-called Ramesseum papyrus, a ceremonial play in dramatic form written for Sesostris I around 1980 B.C. K. Sethe, *Der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus, Ein Spiel zur Thronbesteigung des Königs* (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, vol. X, fasc. 2), Leipzig 1928. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 57 and fig. 44.
2. Ed. Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII-XX. Dynastie*, 3 vols., Berlin 1886. K. Sethe, *Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter. Die Geschichte einer Sitte* (Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. Phil.-hist.Kl.), Berlin 1931, pp. 520ff. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 58ff. and figs. 45-52.
3. A. C. Mace, *Egyptian Literature*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1928.
4. Fr. Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, vol. I, Leipzig 1891, pp. 335ff. V. Gardthausen, *Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek*, Leipzig 1922.
5. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, pp. 11ff.
6. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford 1932, pp. 20ff.
7. The most recent comprehensive statement on the origin of the codex: C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proc.Brit.Acad.*, XL, 1955, pp. 169ff.
8. The first attempt of a monographic treatment of ancient book illumination by Thiele, *Ant.Lib.Pict.* is entirely based on later manuscripts. Later, Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, greatly increased our knowledge of manuscripts based on classical models, but he also included classical texts the illustrations of which were medieval inventions. See also H. Gerstinger, *Die Griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna 1926, pp. 9-11.
9. A first systematic attempt to collect illustrations on papyrus was made by Karl Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig 1933, p. 309. My own selection in *Roll and Codex*, pp. 47ff., has to be supplemented by several important pieces which will be incorporated

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in the present study and in the second edition of *Roll and Codex*, now in preparation.

10. This approach was used by Otto Jahn in his *Bilderchroniken* and in various writings of Carl Robert, notably his *Becher* and his corpus of the sarcophagi.

11. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, touched upon the problem of reflections of ancient miniatures in other media, but without investigating it systematically. In *Roll and Codex* I discussed this problem only from the methodological point of view, making no attempt at that time to demonstrate the full impact of this relationship.

CHAPTER I. SCIENTIFIC AND DIDACTIC TREATISES

1. H. Diels, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros IV priores commentaria*, Berlin 1882, p. 53.

2. Pap. Vindob. gr. 19996. H. Gerstinger, "Eine stereometrische Aufgabensammlung im Pap. Gr. Vindob. 19996," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrus Sammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), N.S. fasc. 1, 1932, pp. 11ff. and figs. 1-16.

3. For the system of illustrations in rolls, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 47ff.

4. Paris, Louvre, pap. no. 1. M. Letronne and W. Brunet de Presle, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. XVIII, pt. 2, 1865, pp. 25ff. Album pls. I-X. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 49f. and fig. 37 (here the older bibliography).

5. The so-called "Codex Arcerianus," cod. 36.23.Aug.fol. O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Hzgl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, vol. VI, pp. 124, No. 2403.

6. F. Blume, K. Lachmann, and A. Rudorff, *Die Schriften der Römischen Feldmesser*, Berlin, 1848 and 1852. C. Thulin, "Die Handschriften des Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum," (Abhdlg. Preuss. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1911); and *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, vol. I, fasc. 1, Teubner ed. 1913, p. 157 and figs. 113-114. E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1956, p. 66 and figs. 60, 63.

7. F. Biebel, "The Walled Cities of the Gerasa Mosaics," *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, pp. 341ff. and pls. LXXXVIII a, LXXXIX b, XCII a-b, XCIV a.

8. Translated into French by Baron Carra de Vaux, "Les mécaniques ou l'élévateur de Héron d'Alexandrie," *Journ. Asiat.* 9th ser. vol. I (1893), pp. 386ff.; vol. II (1893), pp. 152ff.; 420ff. German translation by L. Nix, and edited with W. Schmidt, *Hérons von Alexandria Mechanik und Katoptrik*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1900.

9. University Library cod. or. 51. P. de Jong et M. J. de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. III, p. 46.

10. Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 246 and pl. XXXIII No. 2.

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11. For some such examples, see the article quoted in note 10.
12. C. Wescher, *Poliorcétique des Grecs*, Paris, 1867.
13. R. Schneider, "Herons Cheiroballistra," *R.M.*, XXI, 1906, pp. 142ff.
14. Cod.Vat.gr.1164. See also Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 246 and pl. XXXIII No. 1.
15. R. Schneider, "Griechische Poliorketiker III," Abhdlg. Götting. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. *Phil.-hist. Kl. N.F.* XII No. 5, 1912.
16. Cod.Vat.gr.1605. C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1485-1683*, Vatican 1950, pp. 260ff.
17. R. Schneider, "Griechische Poliorketiker II," Abhdlg. Götting. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., *Phil.-hist. Kl. N.F.* XI No. 1, 1908-09.
18. For other examples, see Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, pp. 171, XXIX; fig. 85. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 168 and fig. 163.
19. W. Schmidt, *Herons von Alexandria Druckwerke und Automaten-theater. Heronis Alex. opera omnia*, vol. I, Leipzig (Teubner), 1899. For automata in general, see A. Chapuis et Ed. Gélis, *Le Monde des Automates*, Paris 1928.
20. Venice, Marciana cod.gr.516. Compare Schmidt, *Heron von Alexandria*, vol. I Supplementum, pp. 3ff., and esp. vol. I, pp. 187ff. and fig. 42. For other examples, see Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, pp. 173, XXIX; figs. 88-89. Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 248 and pl. XXXIII No. 3.
21. Milan, Ambrosian Library cod.gr.636 (P. 110 sup.). Schmidt, *Heron von Alexandria*, vol. I, Suppl., p. 17, No. 17. A. Martini et D. Bassi, *Catal. Codd. Graec. Bibl. Ambros.*, vol. II, Milan 1906, p. 718, No. 636.
22. M. Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de Materia Medica*, vols. I-III, Berlin 1906-14.
23. Tebtunis No. 679. J. de M. Johnson, "A Botanical Papyrus with Illustrations," *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, IV, 1912, pp. 403ff. and pls. I-II.
24. Ch. Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity," *J.H.St.*, XLVII, 1927, p. 31 and pls. I-II.
25. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod.med.gr.1. A. von Premmerstein — K. Wessely — J. Mantuani, *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Julianae picturis illustratus*, (Codices Graeci et Latini fotogr. depicti, vol. X) (facsimile), Leyden 1906. Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, pp. 5ff.
26. Weitzmann, *Kl.Erbe*, p. 50, pls. IV-V Nos. 8-9.
27. Naples, Bibl. Naz. olim cod. Vindob. suppl. gr.28. Singer, "The Herbal," p. 24 and fig. 16. The most recent study which has clarified the relation to the Anicia codex: Miranda Anichini, "Il Dioscoride di Napoli," *Rendic. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei* (Cl. sc. mor., stor. e filol. Ser. VIII, vol. XI, fasc. 3-4) 1956, pp. 77ff.
28. Weitzmann, *Kl.Erbe*, p. 50 and pl. V No. 10.
29. Morgan M. 652 (formerly Cheltenham Phillipps 21975) *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbaei de Materia Medica*, 2 vols. (facsimile) Paris 1935. Singer, "The Herbal," pp. 25ff. and figs. 35, 42. Weitzmann, *B.B.*, p. 34 and pl. XLI, 231-233.
30. Weitzmann, *Kl. Erbe*, p. 50 and pl. VI, 11-12.

31. For the Macedonian renaissance from the art-historical point of view, see Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms.gr.139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrb. für Kunstwissenschaft* 1929, pp. 178ff.; *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Princeton 1948; *Mythol.*; *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio*, Princeton 1951; *Kl.Erbe*; and elsewhere.

32. Cod. Vatic. Chigi F.VII.159. P. Fr. de Cavalieri, *Codices Graeci Chisiani et Borgiai*, 1927, pp. 104ff. O. Penzig, *Contribuzioni alla storia della botanica*, Genova 1904, pp. 239ff. and pls. I-V. A. Muñoz, *I Codici Greci miniati delle minori Biblioteche di Roma*, Florence 1906, pp. 45ff. and pls. 11-14.

33. Lavra cod. Ω. 75. Spyridon and Eustratiates, *Catalogue of the Greek MSS in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 343.

34. For other examples of human figures attached to the plants of the Lavra codex, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 86 and fig. 68; and *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 253 and pl. XXXV No. 9.

35. What the source was we do not know, but it may have been an illustrated Amor and Psyche romance. As to the illustration of it, see pp. 109ff.

36. O. Schneider, *Nicandrea, Theriaca et Alexipharmaca*, Leipzig 1856.

37. Birt, *Buchrolle*, p. 284.

38. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl.gr.247. Omont, *Min.*, pp. 34ff. and pls. LXV-LXXII. Chanot et Lenormant, *Gaz. Arch.* I, 1875, pp. 69ff., 125ff., and pls. 18, 32; II, 1876, pp. 34ff., 87ff. and pls. 11, 24. Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, pp. 167, XXVIII, figs. 81-84. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, pp. 24, 70 and figs. 2, 42.

39. There are two illustrated paraphrases of Nicander's *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* written by a certain Eutecnius which are preserved in the Vienna Dioscurides (fols. 393^r-437^v) and the Morgan Dioscurides (fols. 338^r-360^v and 375^r-384^v). In both cases the illustration is confined to the plants and the poisonous animals.

40. For other instances of this kind, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 167 and fig. 162, and *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 259 and pl. XXXVI No. 13.

41. M. 652, fols. 200^r-220^v. See note 29.

42. Weitzmann, *B.B.*, p. 34 and pl. XLI No. 230, depicting a similar miniature from the cod. Vatic. gr. 284.

43. Fols. 474^r-485^v. See note 25.

44. Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, p. 56. See also E. Bethe, "Antike Vogelbilder," *Die Antike* XV, 1939, pp. 323ff.; and *B.B.A.*, p. 25 and fig. 4.

45. Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, pl. XX.

46. W. Schmid — O. Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, VII. II. 1. 6th ed., Munich 1920, p. 288.

47. Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, pls. XVII-XIX. That in this case the model actually was a papyrus roll is indicated by the fact that the title of the book is not at the beginning but at the end for reasons of

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better protection inside the roll. (W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 2nd ed. Berlin 1921, p. 98 and fig. 21; and "Das antike Buch," *Die Antike*, XIV, 1938, p. 186 and fig. 7.)

48. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 94 and fig. 78.

49. See, for example, a mosaic in Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes II, The Excavations of 1933-1936*, Princeton 1938, p. 189 and pl. 47 No. 62.

50. *Antioch II*, p. 190 and pl. 51 No. 71. See also C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, London 1938, p. 30 and pl. IV.

51. Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literatur*, p. 204.

52. F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg 1889. F. Sbordone, *Physiologus*, Milan 1936, p. LXXVIII.

53. Smyrna, Evangelical School, cod.B.8. J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, Leipzig 1899, p. 28.

54. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis*, p. 16 and pl. II.

55. For a complete publication of all the illustrated copies, see M. R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford 1929.

56. London, Brit.Mus.Cod.Cotton Tiberius B. V. Fols. 78^r-87^v.

57. Actually there exists a thirteenth-century illustrated Solinus whose pictures hark back to a classical archetype. See R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," *Warburg Journal* V, 1942, pp. 171ff. and pl. 42a.

58. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 137 and fig. 119; and *Mythol.* p. 59 and fig. 73.

59. See Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 134ff.

60. E.g., Oxford, Bodl.Lib. Cod.Ashmole 399. See Ch. Ferckel, "Diagramme der Sexualorgane in mittelalterlichen Handschriften," *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, X, 1917, p. 255 and pls. XII-XIII.

61. Laurentian Library cod. Plut. LXX, 7. K. Sudhoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter* (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin, fasc. 10), Leipzig 1914, p. 5 and figs. 1-4. J. Ilberg, *Soranus* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, vol. IV) Leipzig 1927 (here complete reproduction of the miniatures). Bethe, *B.B.A.*, p. 26 and fig. 7. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 74 and fig. 60.

62. See the plates I-VII in Ilberg, *Soranus*.

63. Bibl. Royale. Cod. 3714. K. Sudhoff, *Stud. zur Gesch. der Medizin*, fasc. 4, Leipzig 1908, pp. 73ff. and pls. XIX-XXIII. J. Ilberg, *Die Überlieferung der Gynäkologie des Soranos von Ephesos* (Abhdlg. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. XXVIII, No. II) 1910, pp. 11ff. and pls. III-VI. W. Koehler, in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* I, 1923, p. 7 and fig. 7. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, p. 26 and fig. 5. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 136 and fig. 118.

64. V. Rose, *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina*, Leipzig 1882.

65. Sudhoff, *Gesch. der Chirurgie*, pp. 75ff. and pls. XV-XXXVI.

66. Pisa, Bibl. Univ. Cod. Roncioni 99. Sudhoff, *Gesch. der Chirurgie*, p. 98 and pl. XXIII.

67. E.g., Rome, Bibl. Casanatense Cod. A.II.15. Sudhoff, *Gesch. der Chirurgie*, pp. 100ff., and pls. XXIV-XXV. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 103 and fig. 89.

68. Durham, Cod. Hunter 100. R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, Oxford 1939, p. 49 and pl. 37. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 96 and fig. 81.

69. Laurent. Lib. Cod. Plut. LXXIV,7. H. Schöne, *Apollonius von Kitium*, Leipzig 1896 (text ed. and publication of all miniatures). Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, p. 153 and figs. 72-73. Weitzmann, *B.B.*, p. 33 and pl. XLI No. 227.

70. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 108 and figs. F (in the text), 94; and *Kl. Erbe*, p. 52 and pl. VII No. 13.

71. E. Oder — C. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, Leipzig (Teubner), 1924-27.

72. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod.gr.2244. M. Laignel-Lavastine, *Histoire général de la médecine*, I, Paris 1936, p. 652. H. Buchthal, *Journ. Walters Art Gallery* V, 1942, p. 19 and fig. 3.

73. Cambridge, Trinity Coll. Cod. O.IX.27. F. A. Paley, *The Epics of Hesiod*, London 1861, p. XXV with plate.

74. G. R. Mair, *Aratus* (Loeb), London 1921.

75. Cologne, Dombibliothek cod. 83^{II}. Wattenbach-Jaffé, *Ecclesiae Metrop. Colon. Codices man.*, Berlin 1874, pp. 29ff.

76. Cod. Vatican. grec. 1087. Fr. Boll — W. Gundel, "Die Sternbilder der Griechen und Römer," in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* vol. VI, Suppl. cols. 869ff. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 96, 144 and figs. 80, 132; and *Kl. Erbe*, p. 58 and pl. XI No. 25.

77. C. Robert, *Eratosthenis catasterismorum reliquae*, Berlin 1878.

78. G. Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*, Berlin 1898, p. 158 and fig. 69; and *Ant.Lib.Pict.*, pp. 1ff.

79. F. Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*. Vol. I-II Sitzungsber. Heidelberg. Akad. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1915 and 1927. Vol. III (by F. Saxl and H. Meier, ed. by H. Bober) Warburg Institute, London 1953. See also Bethe, *B.B.A.*, pp. 41ff.

80. A. W. Mair, *Oppian*, London (Loeb) 1928.

81. Venice, Marciana. Cod. gr. 479. A. M. Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibl. Cod. MSS.*, Venice 1740, p. 251. A. W. Byvanck, "De geïllustreerde Handschriften van Oppianus' Cynegetica," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, V, 1925, pp. 34ff. Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, p. 166 and figs. 77-79. W. Lameere, *Bull. de l'Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, XIX, 1938, pp. 1ff. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 98ff., 138ff. and figs. 61, 72, 82, 122-123, 133-134; and *Mythol.*, pp. 93ff. and pls. XXIX-XLV.

82. Weitzmann, *Kl. Erbe*, p. 45, pl. II No. 3 and pl. I No. 1 (mosaic from the imperial palace of Constantinople).

83. A. W. Mair, *Oppian* (Loeb), London 1928, pp. 200ff.

84. Byvanck, "De geïllustreerde Handschriften," p. 58 and pl. 6.

85. Fols. 21^r-22^r. For the fourth and most complex miniature, see Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 116 and pl. XXXVII No. 132.

86. Vatican cod. lat. 3225. *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Cod. Vat.*

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lat. 3225 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. I editio altera) (facsimile), Rome 1930. Fol. 4^r Pict. 4.

87. Sinai. Cod. 3. N. P. Kondakov, *Puteshestvie na Sinai*, Odessa 1882, p. 101 and Album figs. 54-59.

CHAPTER II. EPIC POETRY

1. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 16ff. where this point is exemplified by a fourth-century Apulian vase painting.

2. Ch. H. Oldfather, "The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt," University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 9, Madison 1923, p. 67.

3. A more recent list by Laura Giabbani ("Testi Letterari Greci di Provenienza Egiziana," *Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di Papirologia "G. Vitelli" della Università di Firenze*, 1947) contains the papyri published between 1920 and 1945, partially overlapping Oldfather's. Of the 1124 papyri listed in this supplement 217 — about one-fifth — are Homeric: 143 from the *Iliad*, 48 from the *Odyssey*, and 26 from the commentaries, etc. Once more they far outrank those of any other text, and make it clear that the ratio of Homeric papyri to others in Oldfather's list is by no means accidental.

4. Only K. Preisendanz (*Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig 1933, pp. 94, 124, 149, 218, 309f.) lists some illustrated papyri without attempting completeness.

5. Munich, State Library pap.gr.128. A. Hartmann, "Eine Federzeichnung auf einem Münchener Papyrus," *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger*, Munich 1930, p. 103 and pl. XVII. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 54 and fig. 42, and "Observations on the Milan *Iliad*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* V, 1954, p. 246 and fig. 2.

6. Milan, Ambrosian Library cod. F.205 inf. A color facsimile appeared recently: Calderini-Ceriani-Mai *Ilias Ambrosiana* (Fontes Ambrosiani XXVIII) Olten 1953; and two years later a comprehensive art-historical study by Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad* (here on p. 169 a complete bibliography). Bianchi-Bandinelli dates the manuscript already in the sixth century.

7. Bianchi-Bandinelli, in my opinion too conservatively, arrives at an estimate of 180 miniatures. *Iliad*, p. 45.

8. Casa del Poeta Tragico. Herrmann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, pl. 10. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p. 117, tried to derive miniature and fresco from the same archetype. On this point, note my remarks in the review of Bianchi-Bandinelli's book in *Gnomon* XXIX, 1957, p. 612.

9. R. Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, Athens 1936; and *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952. Most recently G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Narration in Greek Art," *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 71ff. For *Iliad* illustrations in general see: K. Bulas, *Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade*, Lwow 1929.

10. For this principle in general, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 17ff. and *passim*, where it had been called the "cyclic method."

11. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*. See also U. Mancuso, *La "Tabula Iliaca" del Museo Capitolino* (Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei, Mem. cl. scienze morali, ser. V, XIV), Rome 1909, pp. 662ff.

12. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 81, figs. 30-31 and text fig. C.

13. F. Aurigemma, "Tre nuovi cicli di figurazioni ispirate all' Iliade in casa della Via dell' Abbondanza in Pompei," in V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza. Anni 1910-1923*, Rome 1953, vol. II, pp. 867ff.

14. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad*, pp. 30ff. discusses the same problem, but, chiefly for stylistic reasons, comes to a negative conclusion with regard to a possible dependence of the fresco friezes on miniature models.

15. It is very revealing, indeed, that Aurigemma ("Tre nuovi cicli," p. 939) repudiates a different interpretation of this scene by Mancuso ("Tabula Iliaca," pp. 685ff.) and reinstates the older one by Jahn (*Bilderchroniken*, p. 23, No. 43) on the basis of the close iconographical relationship between fresco and Iliac tablet.

16. E.g., the scene with Achilles at the bier of Patroclus (Il. XVIII, 235ff.). Aurigemma, too, "Tre nuovi cicli," pp. 926ff., noticed here the iconographical relation between fresco and Iliac tablet.

17. Courby, *V.G.R.*, esp. ch. XIX, pp. 281ff. More recently, Th. Kraus, *Megarische Becher im Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseum zu Mainz*, Mainz 1951. L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Les Bols Homériques," *Bull. Antieke Beschaving* XXIX, 1954, pp. 35ff. Kl. Parlasca, "Das Verhältnis der Megarischen Becher zum Alexandrinischen Kunsthandwerk," *J.d.I.*, LXX, 1955, pp. 129ff. and esp. 151ff. (here complete bibliography).

18. C. Robert, *Becher*, Berlin 1890.

19. C. Robert, "Zwei Homerische Becher," *J.d.I.*, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 65ff. and pl. 5. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 26 and fig. 20.

20. As, e.g., in the illustration to Il. XX, 318 with Poseidon saving Aeneas from the spear of the pursuing Achilles which is to be found in the same two monuments: in the cup (Fig. 44) Poseidon lifts Aeneas up, holding him in his right arm, while in the tablet (Fig. 43) Poseidon runs alongside of the fleeing Aeneas.

21. Robert, *Becher*, p. 8 and fig. A. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 18ff., 37 and fig. 6. For Odyssey illustrations in general see: Fr. Müller, *Die antiken Odyssee-Illustrationen*, Berlin 1913.

22. Robert, *Becher*, p. 14 and fig. B. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 19ff., 37 and fig. 7.

23. Only one such plaque exists in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican. See Weitzmann, "A Tabula Odysseaca," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 166ff.

24. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, pp. 6, 38 and pl. IV, No. H. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 19 and fig. 8.

25. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, Leipzig 1891, vol. I, pp. 327ff.

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26. For the fragments of the epic cycle, see H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Loeb), pp. 480ff.
27. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, tabula A, pl. I.
28. For the Iliac tablets, see Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, pp. 53ff. and tabula K on pl. VI; for the Megarian bowls, Robert, *Becher*, pp. 76ff.
29. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, tabula C, pp. 9ff. and pl. III. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 39 and fig. 30.
30. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 494.
31. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 500, No. 11.
32. Robert, *Becher*, pp. 46ff. and fig. K.
33. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 506.
34. Robert, *Becher*, pp. 26ff. and fig. D.
35. O. Rayet, *Études d'Archéologie et d'Art*, Paris 1888, pp. 184ff. and pl. III.
36. This scene is above the inscription ΙΑΙΑΣ ΜΕΙΚΡΑ. Rayet already realized that the scene does not fit any event of the *Little Iliad*, but made no proposal as to its identification. At the same time he did correctly identify the three scenes at the left of the central panel as being from the *Aethiopis*.
37. Robert, *Sark.* II, p. 67 and pl. XXIV No. 59. Now upon a Heracles sarcophagus to which it did not originally belong.
38. Aurigemma, "Tre nuovi cicli," pp. 950ff. and figs. 964, 965.
39. F. Winter, "Iliupersis auf einem Thonbecher im Antiquarium zu Berlin," *J.d.I.* XIII, 1898, pp. 80ff. and pl. 5.
40. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 516.
41. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, pp. 30ff. and pl. I.
42. Robert, *Sark.* II, p. 73 and pl. XXVI No. 64.
43. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 510.
44. J. Allen, "A Tabula Iliaca from Gandhara," *J.H.St.*, LXVI, 1946, pp. 21ff. and fig. 1.
45. This idol does, however, occur on the relief on a Pompeian bronze helmet which shows the same type of Cassandra and thus belongs to the same recension. See S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, Vol. III, Paris 1912, p. 77, No. 1.
46. Robert, *Becher*, pp. 69ff. and fig. a.
47. A. Brüning (Über die bildlichen Vorlagen der Ilischen Tafeln," *J.d.I.*, IX, 1894, p. 160 and figs. 33, 34) tried to derive both scenes from a common archetype, because the Cassandra group is, in both of them, placed out of sequence between the temple of Athena on the one side and the opening of the horse on the other. But iconographical method requires a closer agreement between the corresponding figures in order to support the claim of a common recension.
48. Weitzmann, *Nederl. Kunstb. Jb.* V, 1954, p. 261. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p. 165, assumes Constantinople as place of origin. See my review of B.-B. in *Gnomon*, XXIX, 1957, p. 616.
49. Evelyn-White, *Homerica*, p. 524.

50. Robert, "Zwei Homerische Becher," *J.d.I.*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 72 and pl. 6.

51. Robert, *Becher*, pp. 86ff. and fig. e. Courby, *V.G.R.*, pp. 298ff., Nos. 25, 26, 28, and fig. 55. M. Rostovtzeff, "Two Homeric Bowls in the Louvre," *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86ff. and figs. 3-5.

52. F. Brommer, *Herakles*, Münster-Köln 1953, pp. 53ff.

53. Rostovtzeff, "Two Homeric Bowls," pp. 86ff., and Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 22 and fig. 12.

54. Weitzmann, in Colin Roberts, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XXII, Oxford 1954, p. 85, No. 2331 and pl. XI. Weitzmann, "Narration in Ancient Art," *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 84 and pl. 33, fig. 1.

55. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 93ff.

56. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 120ff. and pl. XXXIX, fig. 138.

57. Compare the coins from Perinthus and Alexandria. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, figs. 139-140.

58. See the Casa di Sirico. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, fig. 141.

59. F. Staehlin, "Die Thensa Capitolina," *R.M.*, XXI, 1906, pp. 335ff. H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford 1926, pp. 179ff. and pls. 68-73. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 29, 31, 103 and figs. 22, 26; and *Mythol.*, pp. 19, 86, 166, 192ff. and figs. 14, 207.

60. H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, p. 45 and pl. 9. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 20, 86, 166, 192 and figs. 16, 209.

61. A. Ευγγόπουλος, Πλὰξ τραπέζης χριστιανική, in: 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1914, p.

70. G. A. S. Snyder, "The So-called Puteal in the Capitoline Museum at Rome," *J.R.St.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 56ff. and pl. I.

62. An exact parallel to this working process can be deduced from the series of illustrations to *Iliad* Book I in the Iliac tablet A (Fig. 56). See Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 38ff. and fig. 31.

63. I am much obliged to Mr. Lucas Benachi, the owner of this fragment and of the vase (Fig. 97) for kindly supplying me with these photographs and for permission to publish them. A publication of Mr. Benachi's collection of terra cottas is being prepared by Prof. Kenneth R. Rowe of Leeds University.

64. For this pottery in general, see Alan J. B. Wace, "Late Roman Pottery and Plate," *Bull. Soc. Royale d'Archéol. d'Alexandrie*, No. 37, 1948, pp. 3ff.

65. G. Doublet — P. Gauckler, *Musée de Constantine* (M.-R. de la Blanchère, *Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, Vol. II), Paris 1893, p. 111 and pl. XII No. 8.

66. J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst, Catalogue général du musée du Caire*, Vienna 1904, p. 257 and pl. XXVI. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 20 and pl. V No. 15.

67. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library. Cod. Taphou 14. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 19ff. and pl. V, fig. 12.

68. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 167 and figs. 210, 211.

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69. Stählin, "Die Thensa Capitolina" (note 59).
70. Cod. Vat. lat. 3225. *Fragmenta et picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vatic. lat. 3225* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. I) 2nd ed. (facsimile) Rome 1930.
71. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 106 and fig. 91.
72. Here, for iconographical clarity, reproduced after the engraving in A. Mai, *Homeri et Virgili picturae antiquae*, Rome 1835, pl. XXV.
73. Cod. Vat. lat. 3867. *Picturae Ornamenta complura scripturae specimina cod. Vat. 3867* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. II) (facsimile) Rome 1902. For an attempt to date this codex into the Constantinian period, see C. Nordenfalk, "Der Kalender vom Jahre 354," *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps-och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar* (Femte Följden, Ser. A. Band 5, No.2), Göteborg 1936, pp. 31ff.
74. Naples, Bibl. Naz. Cod. olim Vienna 58. E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, vol. I, 1929, pl. XLV. P. Courcelle, "La Tradition antique dans les miniatures inédites d'un Virgile de Naples," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* LVI, 1939, pp. 249ff., esp. 275 and fig. 15.
75. Berlin, State Libr. cod. germ. fol. 282. A. Boeckler, *Heinrich von Veldeke, Eneide. Die Bilder der Berliner Handschrift* (facsimile), Leipzig 1939. For similar instances of a new pictorialization of mythological subjects see: J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Romanische Bronzeschalen mit mythologischen Darstellungen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, X, 1956, pp. 9ff.; XI, 1957, pp. 1ff.
76. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 44, 146, 179ff., 185, 193.
77. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 22ff., 30.
78. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 111, 126ff., 144, 195.

CHAPTER III. DRAMATIC POETRY

1. See Chapter II, note 2.
2. Giabbani's supplementary list (see Chapter II, note 3) adds 33 fragments to Euripides and puts him in second place — after Homer and ahead of Demosthenes — with 30 additional fragments. As a whole, Giabbani's list does not basically alter the relative frequency of texts as shown in Oldfather's list and, therefore, only increases its value.
3. Transl. Harmon (Loeb) vol. III, 1921, p. 7.
4. Séchan, *Etudes*, pp. 233ff.
5. Florence, Laurentian Lib. P.S.I.847. G. Coppola, *Papiri Greci e Latini*, VII, Florence 1925, p. 152, No.847. A. Körte, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VIII, 1927, p. 257 No. 683.
6. Robert, *Becher*, p. 51 and fig. L. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 43ff. and fig. 10.
7. The cycle reads from right to left, but scenes 4 and 5 are interchanged, thus disrupting the sequence.
8. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 20ff., 44f. and fig. 9a-e.
9. These first three scenes can be seen in fig. 74, reading from right to

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left. For scenes 4 and 5, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 20ff., 45 and fig. 9d-e.

10. For the full evidence of these additional scenes and an attempt of the reconstruction of the bowl cycle, see Weitzmann, *Euripides*, pp. 177ff.

11. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 79 and text fig. B.

12. F. G. Welcker, *Die Griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus*, Bonn 1839. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1926. W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, Philadelphia 1930.

13. Robert, *Becher*, p. 90 and fig. f. A. von Salis, "Sisyphos," *Corolla, Ludwig Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1937, p. 161 and pls. 58-60.

14. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, pp. 290ff.

15. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, fig. 24.

16. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, figs. 1, 5-8; and *Roll and Codex*, pp. 26ff. and fig. 21a-e.

17. H. Philippart, "Iconographie des Bacchantes d'Euripide," *Revue Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.*, IX, 1930, pp. 5ff.

18. Séchan, *Etudes*, p. 367 and fig. 106.

19. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, pp. 307ff. and figs. 13, 14-16, 20-23.

20. Robert, *Sark.* II, p. 170 and pl. LIV, fig. 155.

21. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 23ff. and figs. 15-17.

22. Robert, *Sark.* III, 2, p. 196 and pl. L, fig. 160a. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, p. 310 and fig. 17.

23. In the sarcophagus the sword is now broken away, but traces of its hilt are visible on the figure standing behind Theseus.

24. M. Gütschow, "Pelias und seine Töchter," *R.M.*, XLIX, 1934, pp. 295ff. and pl. 20. Weitzmann, *Bact. Silver*, p. 312 and fig. 19.

25. Weitzmann, *Antioch III*, p. 233 and pl. 67 No. 140, Panel B; and *Roll and Codex*, p. 28. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 71 and pl. XI b.

26. Robert, "Tragödienszene," 22. *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1898, p. 14 and pl. II. Weitzmann, *Antioch III*, p. 234 and fig. 102.

27. M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton 1939, p. 320 and fig. 423.

28. A. L. Millin, *Description d'une mosaïque antique du Musée Pio-Clémentin à Rome, représentant des scènes de tragédies*, Paris 1929. F. Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern*, Göttingen 1851, pp. 48ff. and pls. VII-VIII. B. Nogara, *I mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan 1910, pp. 27ff. and pls. LVI-LXVI. M. Bieber, *Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 404ff. and fig. 530.

29. Robert, *Sark.* III, 3, p. 465 and pl. CXX No. 372a.

30. E. Maas, *Annali dell' Inst.* LIII, 1881, pp. 109ff. *Mon. dell' Inst.* XI, 1881, pls. XXX-XXXII.

31. M. Bieber, *Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 397 and fig. 521.

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32. Robert, *Herm.*, p. 197 and fig. 153.
33. B. Arnold, "Platte mit szenischen Vorstellungen im Collegio Romano," *Festgruss d. Philol. Gesellschaft zu Würzburg an die XXVI. Philologenversammlung*, 1868, pp. 142ff. with plate. R. Vighi — R. Bartoccini, *Il Nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1955, pl. 67.
34. Robert, *Sark.* III,3, pp. 519, 520, figs. a-c and pl. CXXXIX No. 434c.
35. For a fuller discussion of this disk in relation to book illustration, see Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Bacchae of Euripides," to be published in *A.J.A.*
36. Weitzmann, *Euripides*, pp. 160ff. and fig. 1; and *Mythol.*, p. 131 and fig. 159.
37. Weitzmann, *Euripides*, figs. 5, 6.
38. The inscription "Philomele" instead of Themisto is a mistake of the scribe and the inscriptions "Theseus" and "Athamas" are misplaced: the former should be above the figure discovering the sword under the rock, and the latter above the killer and not the killed.
39. Séchan, *Etudes*, pp. 63ff., 141ff.
40. Robert, *Sark.* II, pp. 165ff. and pl. LIV Nos. 154ff.
41. Robert, "Die Phorkiden," *Hermes* XXXVI, 1901, pp. 159-160. Courby, *V.G.R.*, p. 307, No. 33. Séchan, *Etudes*, p. 111. The photographs and the permission to publish them I owe to the kindness of Professor Herbert Koch to whom I wish to express my sincere thanks.
42. H. Fuhrmann, "Athamas," *J.d.I.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950/51, pp. 103ff. and figs. 1, 2.
43. Giabbani's list (see Chapter II, note 3 and Chapter III, note 2) adds 15 more fragments.
44. T. Ivanov, *Une Mosaïque Romaine de Ulpia Oescus*, Sofia 1954. See review of M. Bieber in *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 80-81, accepting the Menander interpretation.
45. See note 30.
46. Robert, "Die Masken der Neueren Attischen Komoedie" (25. Hallesches Winckelmannsprogramm) Halle 1911, p. 63 and fig. 53.
47. A. K. H. Simon, "Szenenbilder," *Schaubühne* 1938, p. 39, No. 21.
48. Published with their complete miniature cycles in L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, 2 vols., Princeton 1931.
49. Esp. Morey, *Miniatures*, pp. 36-45.
50. Robert, "Masken," pp. 103ff. placed the archetype in the first century B.C. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, pp. 61ff. in the second century A.D.
51. Vatican cod. lat. 3868, which was written and painted in the German monastery of Corvey under the abbot Adelardus (822-826) by the monk Adelricus. G. Jachmann, *Terentius Cod. Vat. Lat. 3868* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. XVIII) (facsimile) Leipzig 1929.
52. See the excellent color plate in Jachmann, *Terentius*, pl. III.
53. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 109ff. and fig. 95.
54. Robert, "Maskengruppen," *Arch. Zeitg.*, XXXVI, 1878, pp. 13ff. and pls. 3-5.

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55. Robert, "Maskengruppen," pp. 13ff. and pl. 3; and *Herm.*, p. 197 and fig. 152.

56. Jachmann, *Terentius*, pls. fols.60^v-61^r. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 73 and fig. 59.

57. As for the mimus and its pictorialization in general, see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, Leipzig 1897. A. Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, London 1931, pp. 17-134.

58. There are two copies known from the same form, one in the Louvre and the other in the National Museum at Athens. M. Rostovtzeff, "Two Homeric Bowls in the Louvre," *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86ff. and figs. 1-2 (here the older bibliography).

59. I wish to thank Mr. Lukas Benachi, the owner of this vase, for his kind permission to publish this piece. A similar piece but of inferior quality exists at Dumbarton Oaks at Washington. See G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Cambridge, Mass. 1956, p. 50, No.34 and pl. XVIII. Her suggestion that the characters may be from an Italian mime does not seem too likely in view of the Egyptian provenance of the Benachi vase.

60. Whether one of the initial scenes of the earlier Virgil, cod. Vat. lat. 3225, is really from the *Eclogues* as has been claimed, is by no means assured. See L. Eitner, *The Flabellum of Tournus*, New York 1944, p. 18, note 88.

61. Cod. Vatic. lat. 3867. See Chapter II, note 73.

62. W. S. Teuffel, *Römische Literatur* II⁶, § 226, note 1.

63. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Vol. I, Berlin 1914, pp. 74ff., No.155, and pl. LXVII. Eitner, *Flabellum*, pp. 17ff. and figs. 31, 35-37, 40-41.

64. Eitner, *Flabellum*, p. 18.

65. Courcelle, "La Tradition antique" (Chapter II, note 74), p. 265 and fig. 4. Eitner, *Flabellum*, p. 18 and fig. 34.

66. Cod. Vatic. lat. 3251. For this manuscript in general, see F. Saxl, "Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften," Vol. I, *Sitzungsber. Heidelberger Akad.* 1915, 6.-7. Abhdlg. p. 92.

67. J. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Vol. III, 1916, pl. 17.

68. Facsimile (Chapter II, note 73): pl. 3 (=fol.6 and pict.III) and pl. 7 (=fol. 16^v and pict. VII).

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1. Apollodorus, ed. J. G. Frazer (Loeb) 2 vols., London 1921.

2. C. Robert, *De Apollodori bibliotheca*, Berlin 1873.

3. Library of the Greek Patriarchate. Cod. Taphou 14. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 9ff. (here the older bibliography).

4. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 83.

5. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 50ff., 79, and pl. XVIII, fig. 59.

6. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, pp. 113ff. and pl. XXXV, fig. 124.

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7. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl. gr. 247 (see Chapter I, note 38).
8. Weitzmann, *Kl. Erbe*, p. 54 and fig. 15.
9. G. V. Gentili, "I mosaici della Villa Romana del Casale di Piazza Armerina," *Boll. d'Arte* XXXVII, 1952, pp. 33 ff. and pl. I a. B. Pace, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome 1955, p. 47 and figs. II and 10.
10. Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 261 and pl. XXXVI, fig. 15.
11. Migne, P.G. 103, col. 552.
12. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl. gr. 1294. Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.R.*, pp. 17, V and fig. 2. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 51 and fig. 40; and *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 84 and pl. 33 fig. 2.
13. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II, 1938, p. 203 and pl. 78 No. 99. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Notes on the Mosaics from Antioch," *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 242ff. and fig. 5. D. Levi, "The Novel of Ninus and Semiramis," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, LXXXVII, 1944, p. 424 and fig. 5; and *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 118 and pl. XX, fig. c.
14. F. Zimmermann, *Griechische Romanpapyri und verwandte Texte*, Heidelberg 1936, pp. 52ff.; and "Aus der Welt des griechischen Romans," *Die Antike*, XI, 1935, pp. 296ff.
15. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II, p. 203 and pl. 78 No. 100, Panel B. D. Levi, "The Novel of Ninus," pp. 420ff. and fig. 2; and *Antioch Mosaics*, p. 117 and pl. XX, figs. a-b.
16. D. Levi, "The Novel of Ninus," p. 422 and figs. 3-4.
17. F. Zimmermann, *Griechische Romanpapyri*, pp. 13ff. S. Gaselee, *The Love Romances of Parthenius and other Fragments* (Loeb) Cambridge 1935, pp. 382ff.
18. E.g., *Antioch* III, pl. 73 No. 148. Panels A, C, and E.
19. *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, ed. A. Riese, Leipzig (Teubner) 1893.
20. Budapest, Nemzeti Muz. cod. lat. med. aev. 4. I owe the knowledge of this manuscript and the photo here reproduced to the kindness of Dr. Hugo Buchthal, to whom I wish to express my sincere thanks for the permission to publish it. The manuscript which I have not seen is mentioned by A. Boeckler, *Heinrich von Veldeke, Eneide*, Leipzig 1939, p. 34, note 43.
21. In this plate the leaf has been cut in two halves.
22. Mon. ined. XI, 1882, pl. XLV-XLVIII.
23. F. Mau, *R.M.*, X, 1895, p. 231. E. Löwy, *Rend. dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. V, vol. VI, 1897, pp. 27ff.
24. Shared also, more recently, by Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p. 29.
25. C. Robert, "Archaeologische Nachlese," *Hermes* XXXVI, 1901, pp. 364ff.
26. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig 1907. W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. I, recensio vetusta, Berlin 1926.
27. For the Armenian manuscripts, see F. Macler, *L' Enluminure arménienne profane*, Paris 1928; for the Serbian see V. R. Petkovic, *Studi byzantini e neo-ellenici* VI, 1940, pp. 341ff. and pls. XCIV-CIII, and A.

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Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique*, Paris 1928, p. 108 and pls. XII–XVI.

28. (a) Oxford, Bodleian Lib. cod. Barocci 17 (Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 104 and fig. 111); (b) Venice, San Giorgio dei Greci (Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 104 and note 26).

29. Venice, Marciana cod. gr. 479 (see Chapter I, note 81).

30. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 102 and pl. XXXI, fig. 108.

31. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 103 and pl. XXXI, fig. 109.

32. Weitzmann, *Mythol.*, p. 105 and pl. XXXI, fig. 110. Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, pp. 8, 54, and pl. VI No.L.

33. R. Garrucci, *Illustrazione de un frammento di cronaca greca e di un bassorelievo rappresentante un'avventura del Bucefala* (Memor. della Reg. Accad. Ercolanense di Archeologia IV, pt. 1) 1852, pp. 309, 335ff. and plate.

34. Ed. G. Thornley and J. M. Edmonds (Loeb) 1935.

35. *Catalogue of the Exhibition "The Dark Ages" at the Worcester Art Museum*, Worcester, Mass. 1937, p. 45, Nos. 134–137 with ill. *Catalogue of the Exhibition "Early Christian and Byzantine Art at the Baltimore Museum of Art,"* Baltimore 1947, p. 149, No. 755 and pls. CXII–CXIII. G. Brett, "The Brooklyn Textiles and the Great Palace Mosaic," *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum*, 1950, pp. 433ff. and pls. VIII–IX. Brett correctly comes to the result that the Daphnis and Chloe romance could not have been the source for the roundels, but from this exclusion, in our opinion, does not follow that therefore the scenes are not based on any literary source at all.

36. A. Goldschmidt, *Parnassus* IX, 1937, No. 3, pp. 29ff. *Catalogue Baltimore Exhibition*, loc.cit.

37. Omont, *Min.* p. 40 and pl. LXVIII No. 3. Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, pp. 167ff. and fig. 83.

38. As for another bucolic scene in the Paris *Nicander*, see Weitzmann, *Kl. Erbe*, p. 53 and fig. 14.

39. O. Jahn, *Archäolog. Beiträge*, Berlin 1847, pp. 121ff. His idea of the Roman origin was supported by Robert, *Herm.*, p. 232.

40. R. Reitzenstein, *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apulejus*, 1912; and "Eros und Psyche in der ägyptisch-griechischen Kleinkunst (Sitzungsber. Heidelb. Akad. Phil.-hist. Kl. V), 1914, No. 12; also 1917, No. 10, p. 93; and *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXVIII, 1930, pp. 42ff.

41. *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto, VIII), 1927, pp. 85ff., No. 919 and plate. A. Minto, *Boll. d'arte*, 1925–26, pp. 190ff. and figs. 1–2. Bethe, *B.B.A.*, pp. 5, 80 and fig. 1. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 56 and fig. 43.

42. *Antioch III*, p. 209, No. 168 and pl. 82. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaics*, pp. 159ff. and pl. XXXI b.

43. Ed. W. Adlington and S. Gaselee (Loeb) 1915, p. 232.

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44. B. E. Perry, *Aesopia, Vol. I Greek and Latin Texts*, Urbana 1952.
- L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, Vols. I-III, Paris 1893-94.
45. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, London 1914, p. 104, No.686, and pl. XXIV.
46. Walters, *Catalogue*, interprets the scene as the fable of the fox and the raven, but this identification leaves the sticks in the paws of the fox unexplained.
47. For reflections of miniatures on lamps, see Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 31 and fig. 24.
48. Univ. Lib. cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15. G. Thiele, *Ant.Lib.Pict.*, pp. 36ff.; and *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar*, Leiden 1905. Gasiorowski, *M.M.Gr.-R.*, pp. 112ff. and figs. 52-56.
49. Thiele, *Aesop*, p. 45 and pl. IV.
50. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod.lat.nouv.acq. 1132. A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts*, Princeton 1947.
51. Goldschmidt, *Avianus*, p. 9 and pl. II.
52. As, e.g., the eagle and the turtle; Boreas and Phoebus; the two companions and the she-bear. Goldschmidt, *Avianus*, pp. 10, 12, 19 and pls. III, V, IX.
53. R. Pagenstecher, *Die Griechisch-Ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin* (Expedition E. v. Sieglin, vol. II, pt.3), Leipzig 1913, pp. 72, 199 and pl. XXIV No.2. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 68 and fig. 55.
54. London, Brit.Mus. Pap. 10016. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 68 and fig. 54 (here the older bibliography).
55. The role of the satirical fable in Egyptian art has most recently been discussed by H. J. Kantor, "Narration in Egyptian Art," *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 51ff.
56. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 57ff.
57. L. Mercklinus, *De Varronianis Hebdomadibus Animadversiones*, Dorpat, 1857. F. W. Ritschl, *De M. Varronis Hebdomadum sive Imaginum Libris*, Bonn 1858.
58. See also the passage concerning Varro in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* III-X.1 (ed. Rolfe [Loeb vol. I] pp. 266ff. and elsewhere.
59. Birt, *Buchrolle*, pp. 296ff. More recently, A. v. Salis, "Imagines Illustrium," *Festschrift Eumusia für Ernst Howald*, Zürich 1947, pp. 11ff.
60. Vat. cod.lat. 3225, fol. 57^v. Facsimile (Chapter I, note 86) p. 29 and plate fol. 57^v.
61. XIV.186: Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem!
ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit.
62. Vatican,cod.lat. 3868 fol. 2^r. Facsimile (Chapter III, note 51). L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, Plate volume. Frontispiece in color.
63. Vatican, cod.Pal.lat. 1564 fol.1^r. H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, Kunstgesch. Jahrbuch der

K.K. Zentralkommission IV, 1910, p. 90 and pl. XIIa. A. Goldschmidt, *Carol. Illum.*, p. 19 and pl. 16A.

64. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei*, on the basis of the seventeenth-century inscription calls this figure "supremus iudex," which is surely wrong, since the latter would have to be a civilian. Goldschmidt, *Carol. Illum.*, more cautiously calls it "another bust not named."

65. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* III.XI.7 (ed. Rolfe [Loeb vol. I], p. 276). The two lines of writing that at the present separate the two medallions are from the seventeenth century.

66. Milan, Ambrosian Libr. cod.E 37 sup. Weitzmann, *Isl. Scient. Ill.*, p. 263 and pl. XXXVI No.17.

67. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 923. Weitzmann, *B.B.*, p. 80 and pl. LXXXVI. I no longer believe that this codex was made in Italy under Palestinian influence, but in Palestine itself.

68. Naples, Bibl. Naz. cod. olim Vienna 58. Courcelle (see Chapter II, note 74).

69. See e.g., the mosaic from Hadrumentum in Sousse, Tunisia. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel 1943, p. 171, fig. 4.

70. Courcelle, "Virgile de Naples," p. 256 and fig. 1. The figure decorates the argumentum to Book I.

71. Birt, *Buchrolle*, pp. 162ff.

72. Courcelle, "Virgile de Naples," fig. 7 (=fol.143^v).

73. See Chapter III, note 33.

74. The only point which would speak against this identification is the seeming beardlessness; but, unfortunately, the figure is so sketchy that one cannot be absolutely sure about this detail.

75. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 1528 fol.218^v. H. Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire*, vol. II, 1888, p. 80.

76. For the standing author portrait in manuscripts in general, see A. M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 124ff. and pls. I-VII.

77. See Chapter II, note 73.

78. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod.med.gr.1. Premierstein-Wessely-Mantuani, *Dioscurides*, and Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, pp. 14ff. and pls. I-II. P. Buberl, "Die antiken Grundlagen der Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurideskodex," *J.d.I.*, LI, 1936, pp. 114ff.

79. A. von Salis, "Imagines Illustrium," *Festschrift Eumusia für Ernst Howald*, Zürich 1947, p. 16, proposes a different explanation for the sitting on the ground.

80. J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, vol. II, Munich 1901, pp. 34ff. and figs. 3-4. G. W. Elderkin, "Two Mosaics Representing the Seven Wise Men," *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 92ff. and pl. XXII.

81. Buberl, "Die antiken Grundlagen," pp. 127ff. v. Salis, "Imagines Illustrium," p. 17.

82. Ambrosiana cod. F.205inf. (see Chapter II, note 6). Fols. 8^v, 20^v, 28^v, 29^v.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

83. Vat.lat. 3867 (see Chapter II, note 73). Fols. 234^v, 235^r.
84. Goldschmidt, *Carol. Illum.*, pl. 19A.
85. C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XL, 1955, pp. 169ff.
86. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 81ff.
87. Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek cod. 36.23. Aug.fol. (See Chapter I, note 5). F. Marx, "Digitis computans," *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher*, Suppl. vol. XXVII, 1902, pp. 195ff. K. Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 171, No.2. The face is partly redrawn.
88. Weitzmann, *B.B.*, p. 46 and pl. LI No.302.
89. Paris, Bibl. Nat.cod.lat.nouv.acq.1132. Goldschmidt, *Avianus*, pp. 5ff. and pl. I.
90. As an example of an antithetic pair of frontispieces, see the Carolingian Pseudo-Apuleius manuscript in Kassel which surely goes back to a late classical archetype. A. Goldschmidt, *Carol. Illum.*, p. 21 and pl. 20. Here, the author of the herbal, seated at the right, talks to a man identified by a later inscription as Constantinus Mag. Goldschmidt read the epithet as Mag[ister] and considered him to be another author, but since the figure clearly wears a crown, it seems to us more likely that the epithet has to be read as Mag[nus] and that the great emperor is intended to whom the book is presented.
91. Vienna cod.med.gr.1 (see note 78).
92. Buberl, *Byzantinische Handschriften*, p. 24 and pl. IV.
93. Buberl, "Die antiken Grundlagen," p. 131 and compare fig. 9 with fig. 5.

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1. Joseph Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Vat. Urbinas Graecus 82* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti XVIII), 3 vols., 1932.
2. J. Strzygowski, *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354* (J.d.I., Ergänzungsheft I) Berlin 1888.
3. H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354, Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Paris 1953.
4. Robert, *Sark.* III,3, p. 454 with fig.
5. Robert, *Sark.* III,3, pp. 450ff. and pls. CXIX–CXXXI.
6. Robert, *Sark.* III,1, pp. 39ff. and pl. VII No.33.
7. W. Schmid-O. Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* VII.II.1, 6th ed., Munich 1920, p. 367.
8. Ch. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch des Giovannantonio Dosio im Staatlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, Berlin 1933, p. 9. Fol. 13^r and pl. XVIII No.33.
9. Fr. Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 118ff.
10. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Pap. 13296. H. Lietzmann, "Ein Blatt aus einer antiken Weltchronik," *Quantulacumque, Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake*, London 1937, pp. 339ff. and plate.
11. B. Bischoff and W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spät-

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antiken Ravennater Annalen," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge 1939, vol. I, pp. 125ff. and figs. 1-2.

12. A. Bauer and J. Strzygowski, *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik* (Denkschriften der K. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist.Kl., vol. LI, Abh.2), Vienna 1906.

13. S. J. Gasiorowski, "A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë," *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XVII, 1931, pp. 1ff. with color plate. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 53 and fig. 41.

14. G. Piccardi, *Papiri Greci e Latini*, vol. XIII, fasc.II, 1953, p. 229 and pl. XV No.1368 (in color).

15. A. Minto, "Frustulum Papyraceum con resti di figurazione dipinta: Hermes Psychopompos (?)," *Aegyptus* XXXII, 1952, pp. 324ff. and color plate.

16. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 176ff. and figs. 177-182; and "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," *Münch.Jahrb.Bild.Kunst* III-IV, 1952-53, pp. 115ff. and figs. 18-23.

17. *Roll and Codex*, p. 175 and figs. 174, 176.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 174 and figs. 173, 175.

19. Weitzmann, "Die Illustration," pp. 116ff. and figs. 24-26; and *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 89ff. and pl. 36, figs. 14-17.

20. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* VIII, 1936, p. 88 and pl. II No. 1 and pl. IV No. 3.

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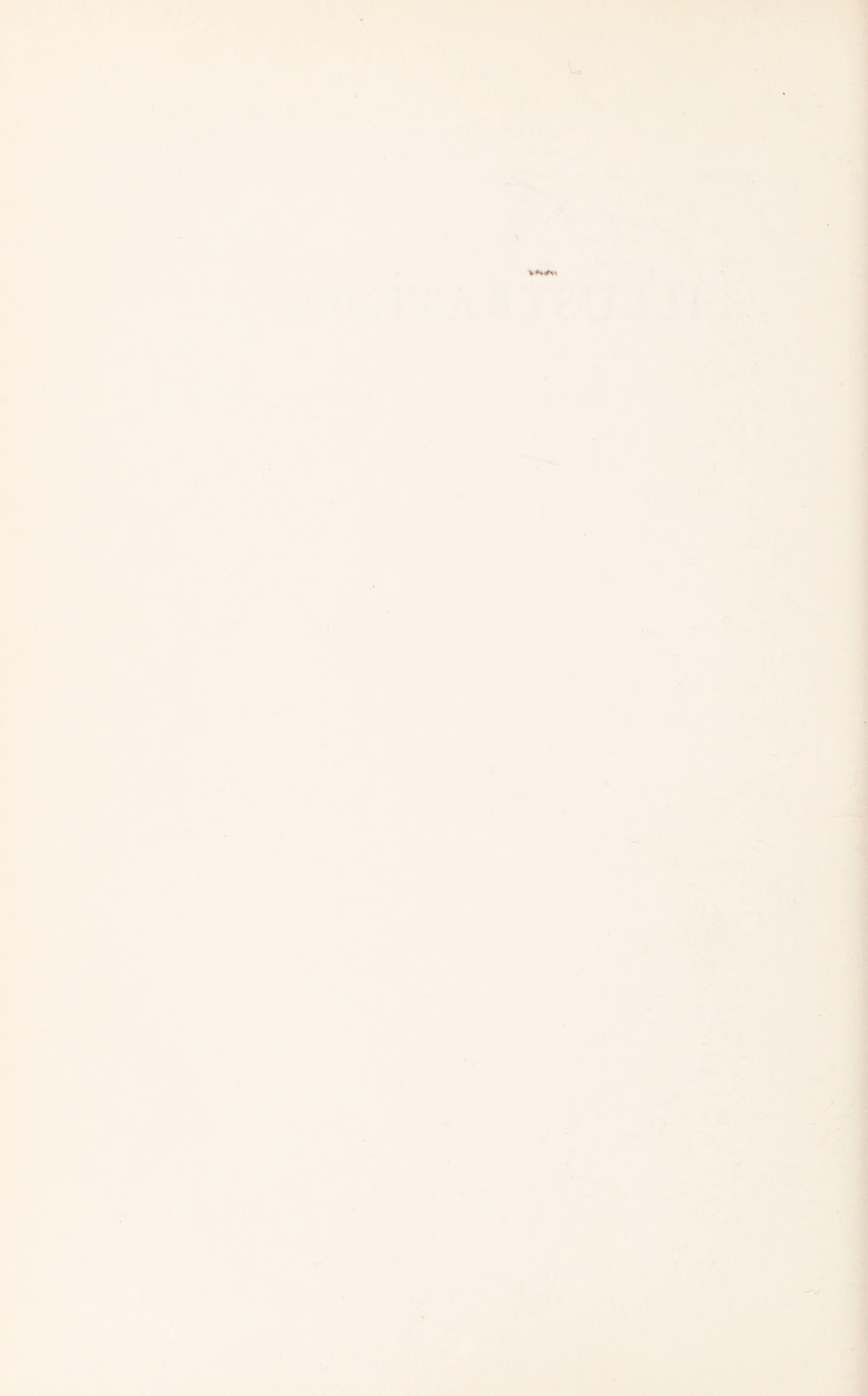
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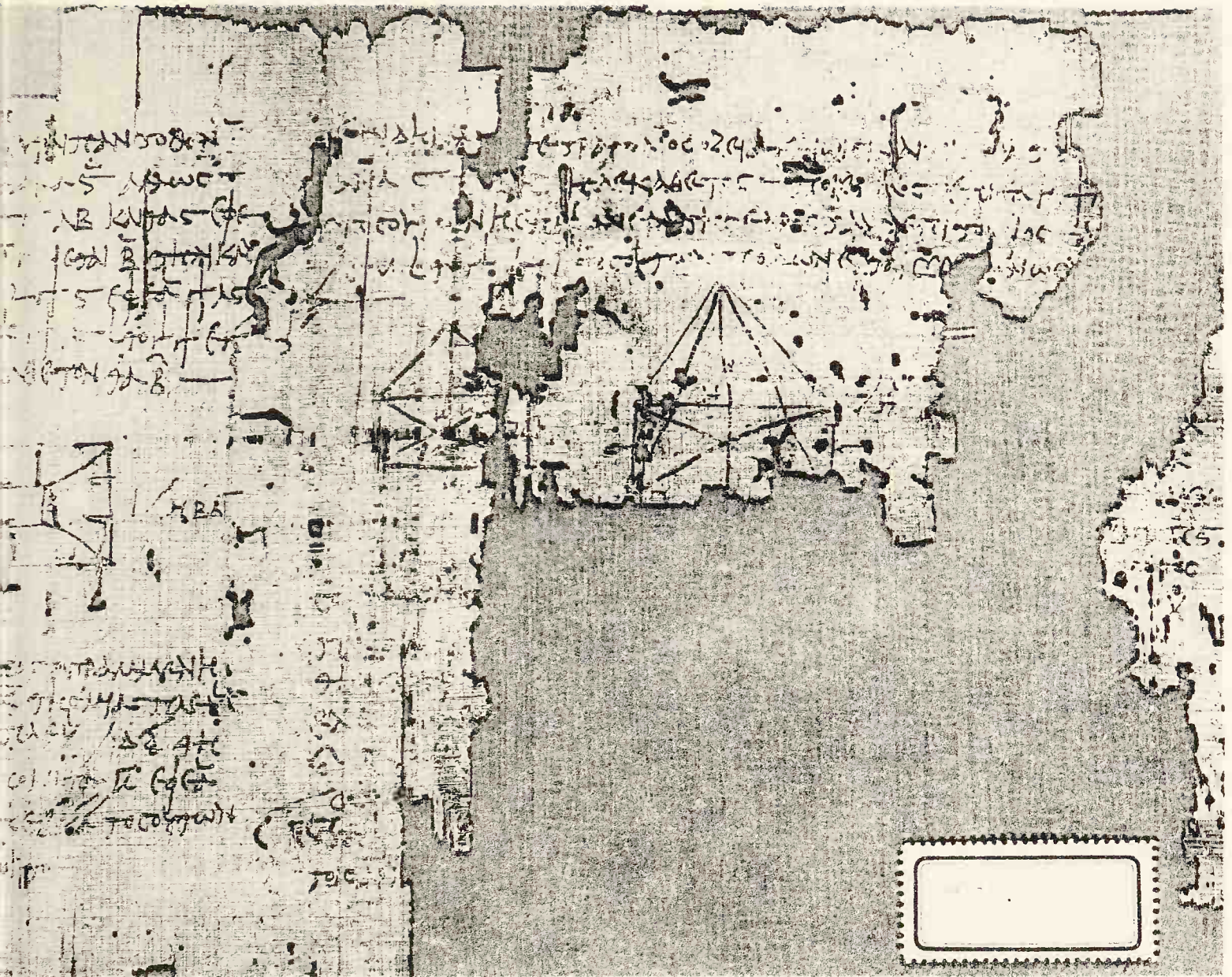


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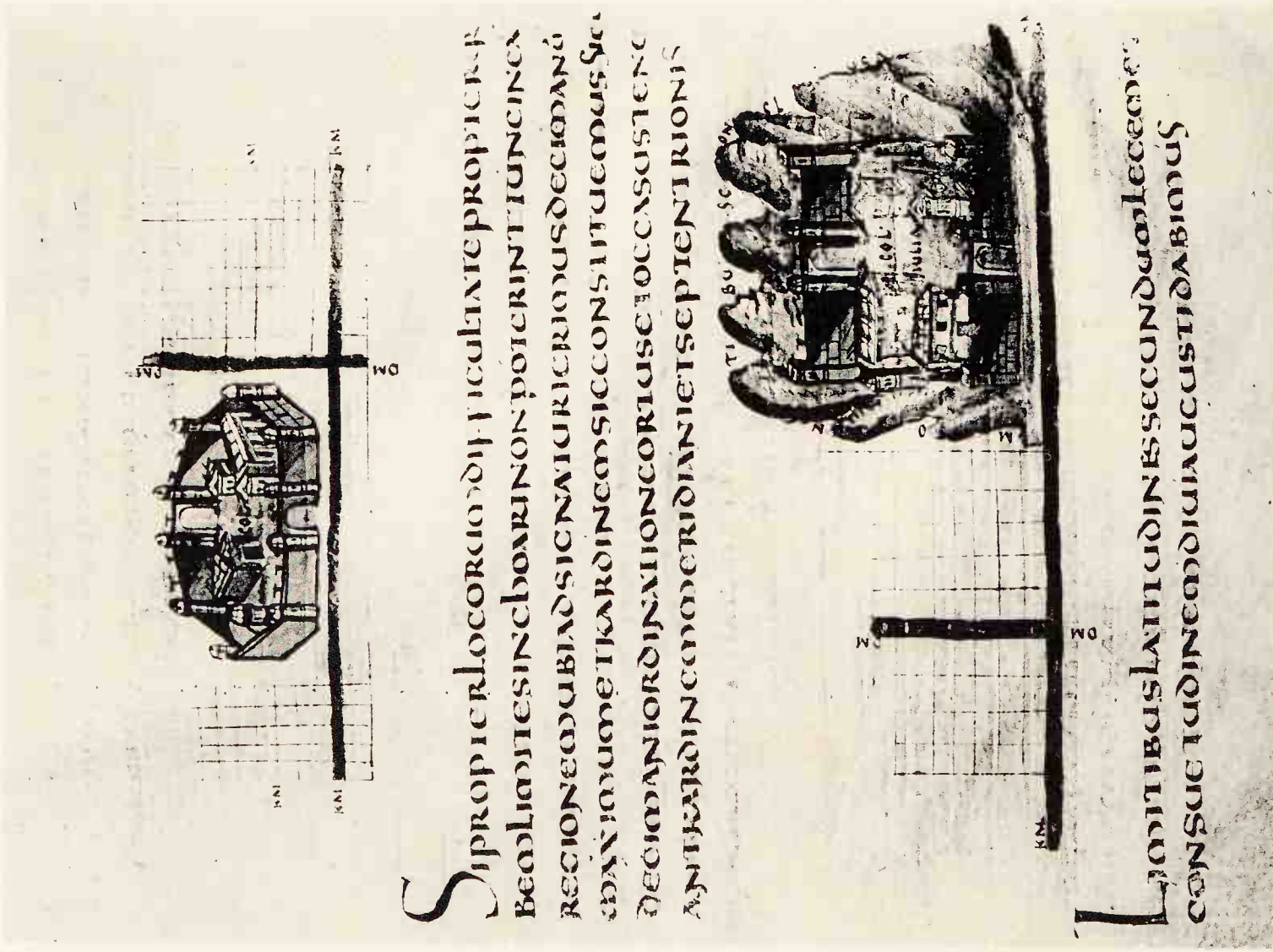


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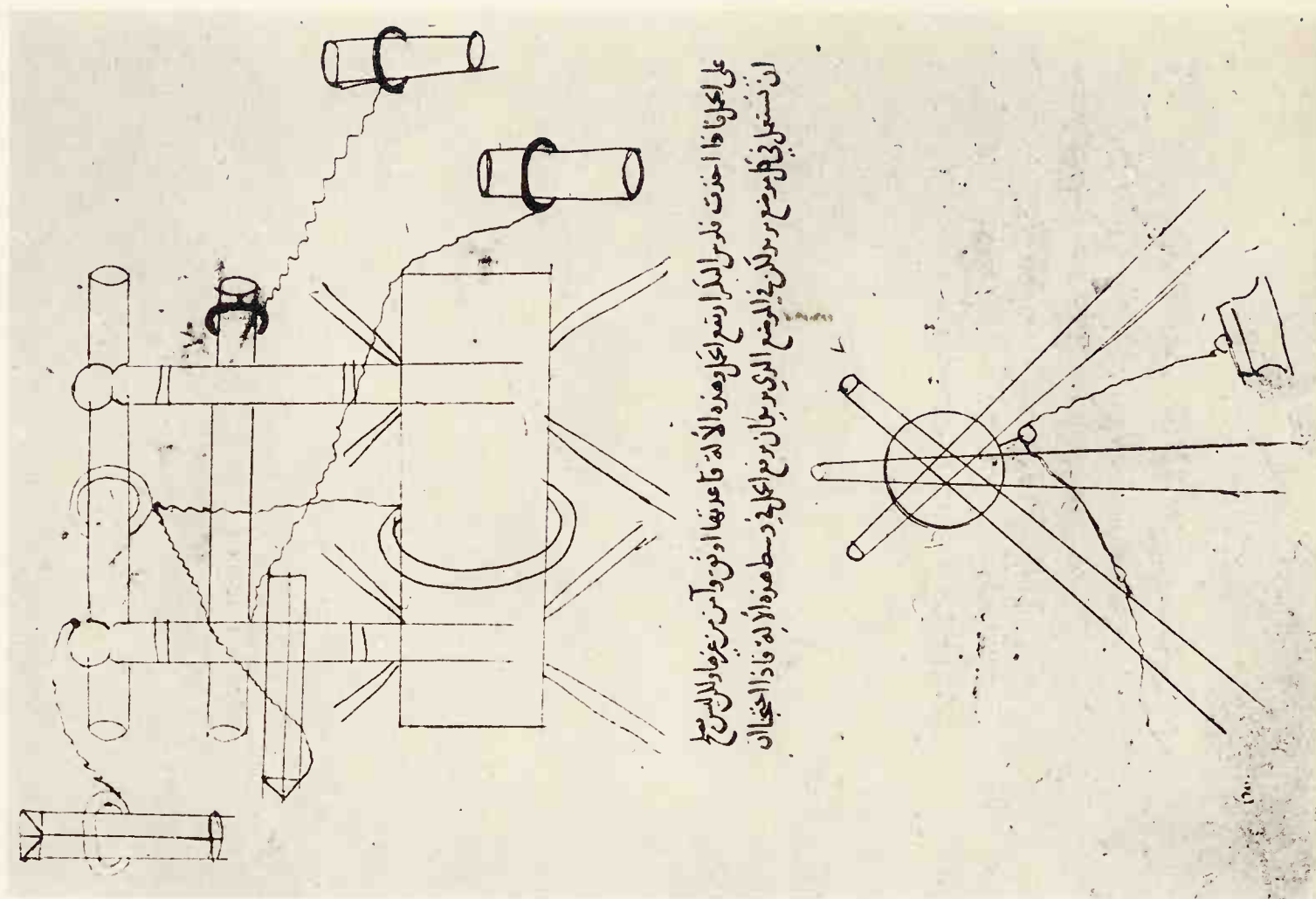


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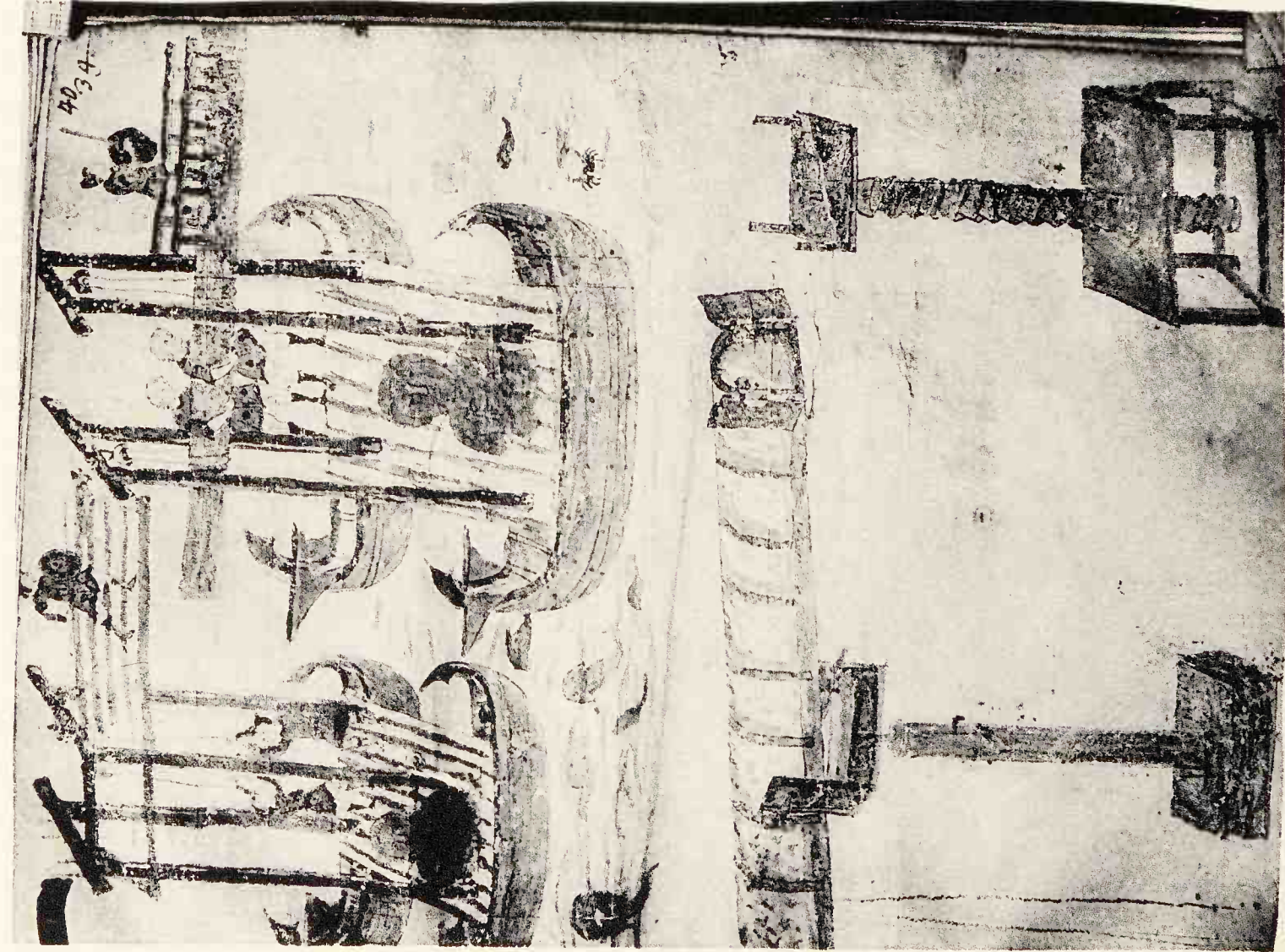


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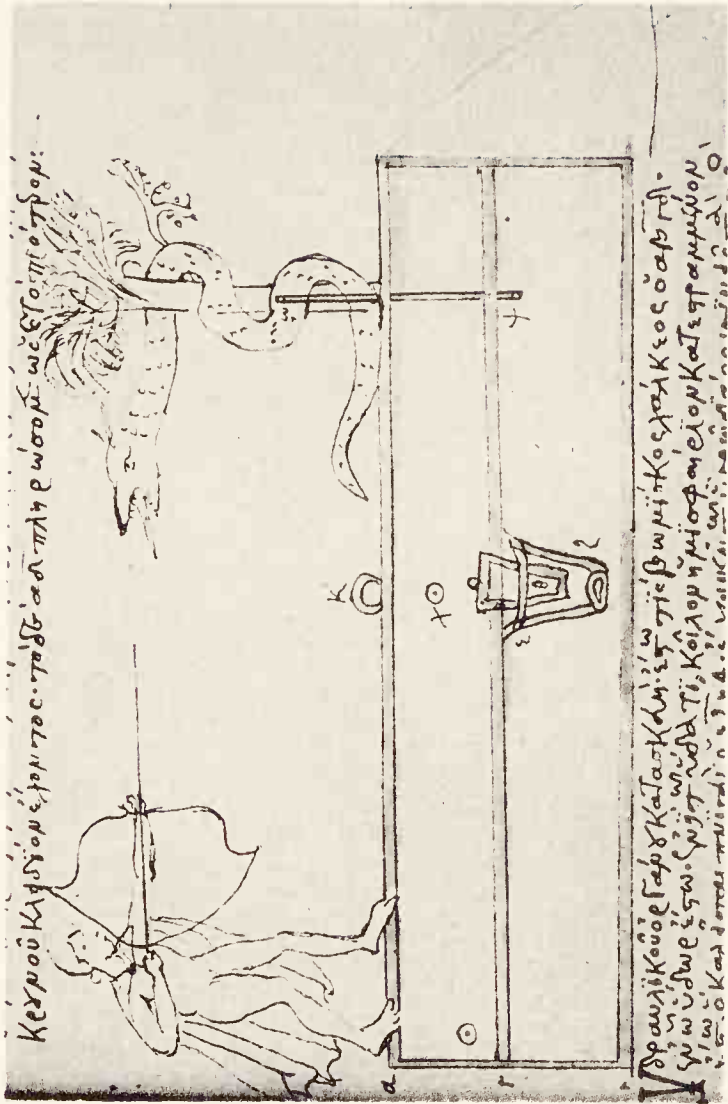


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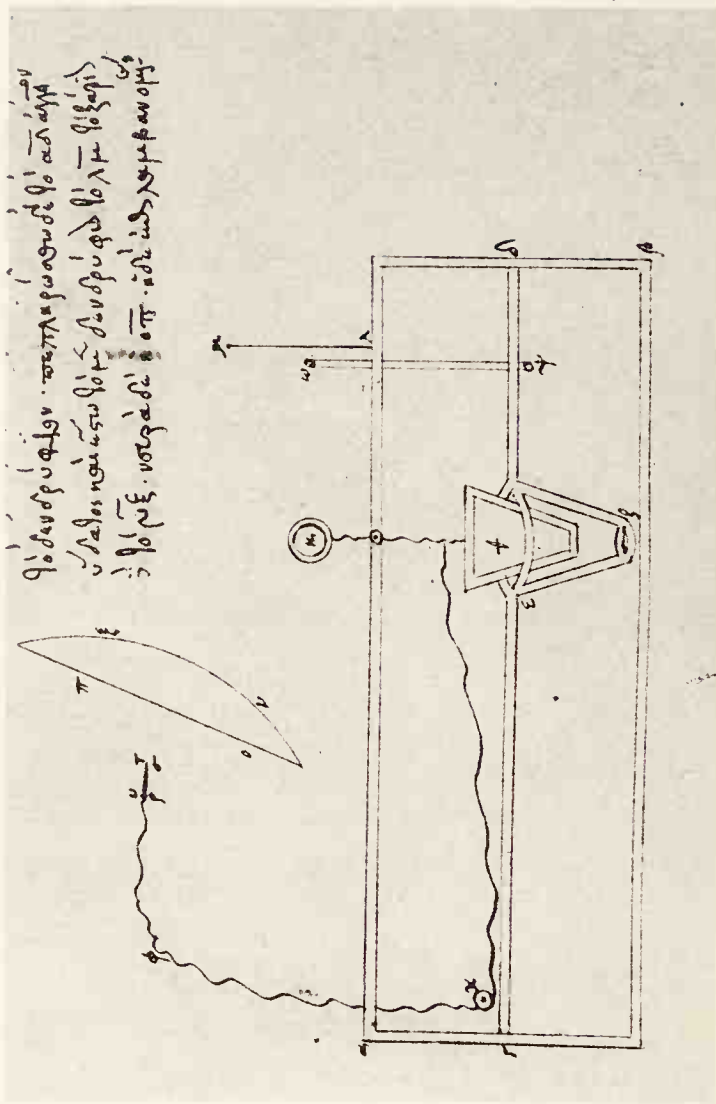


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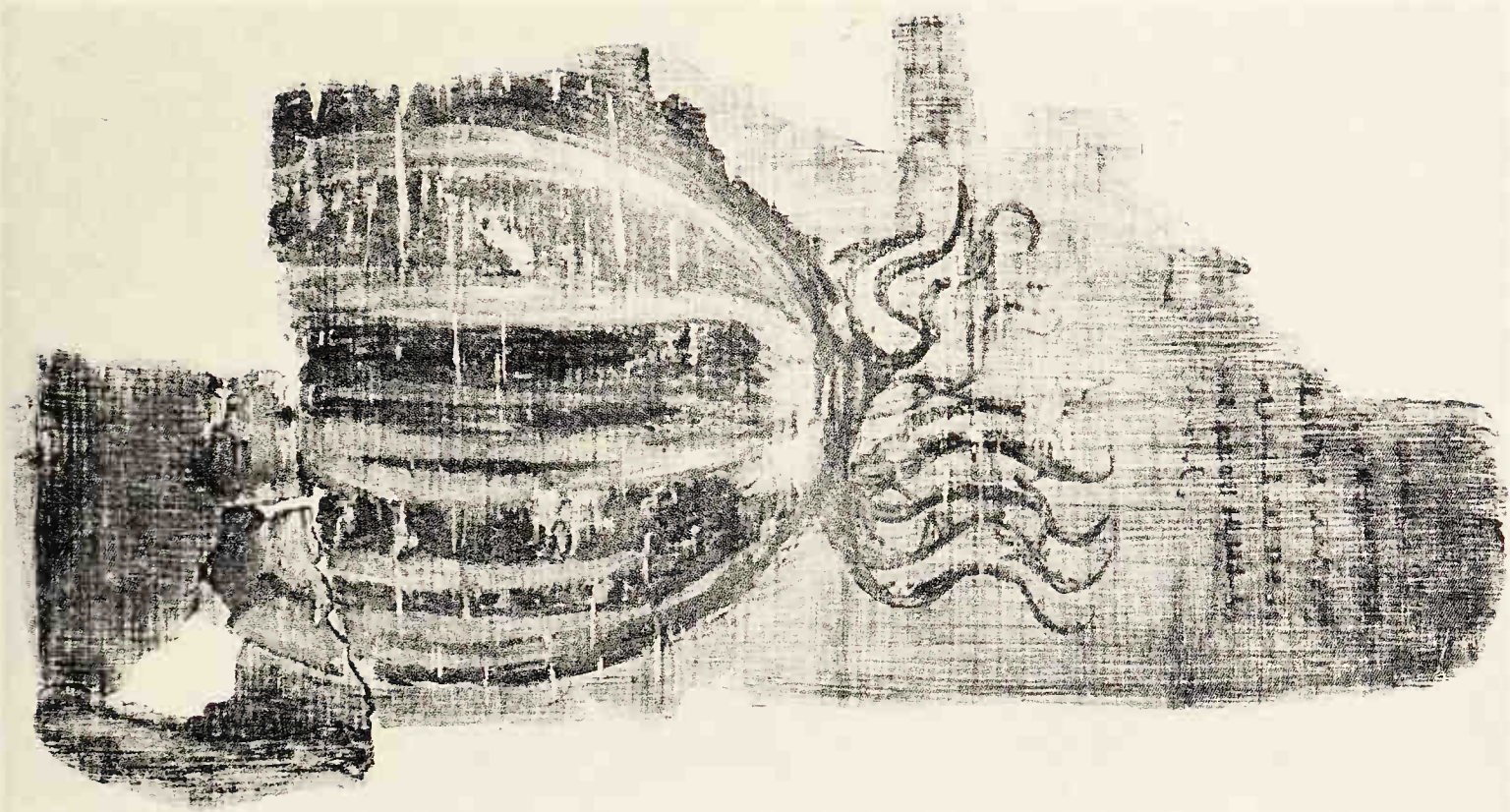


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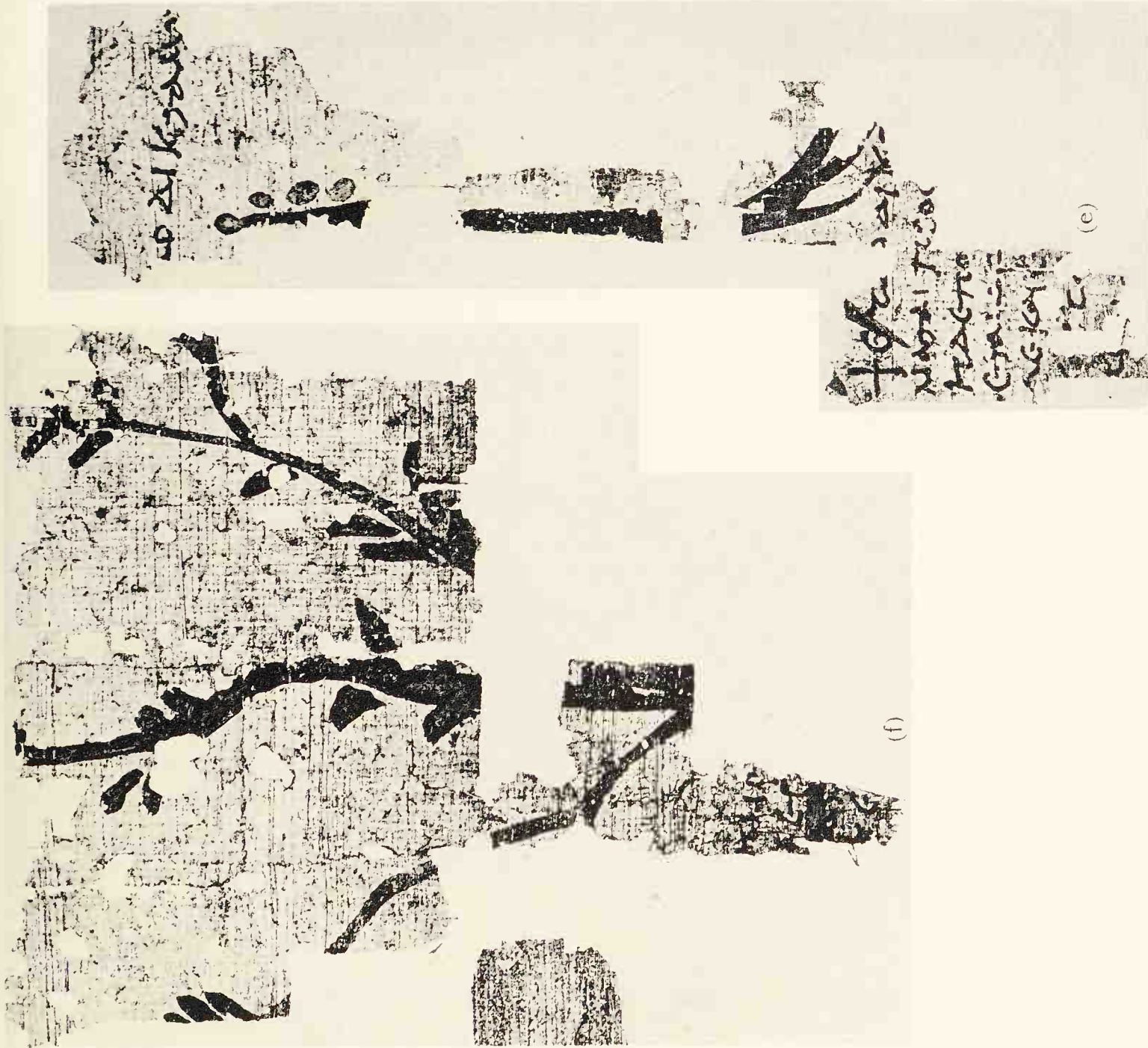


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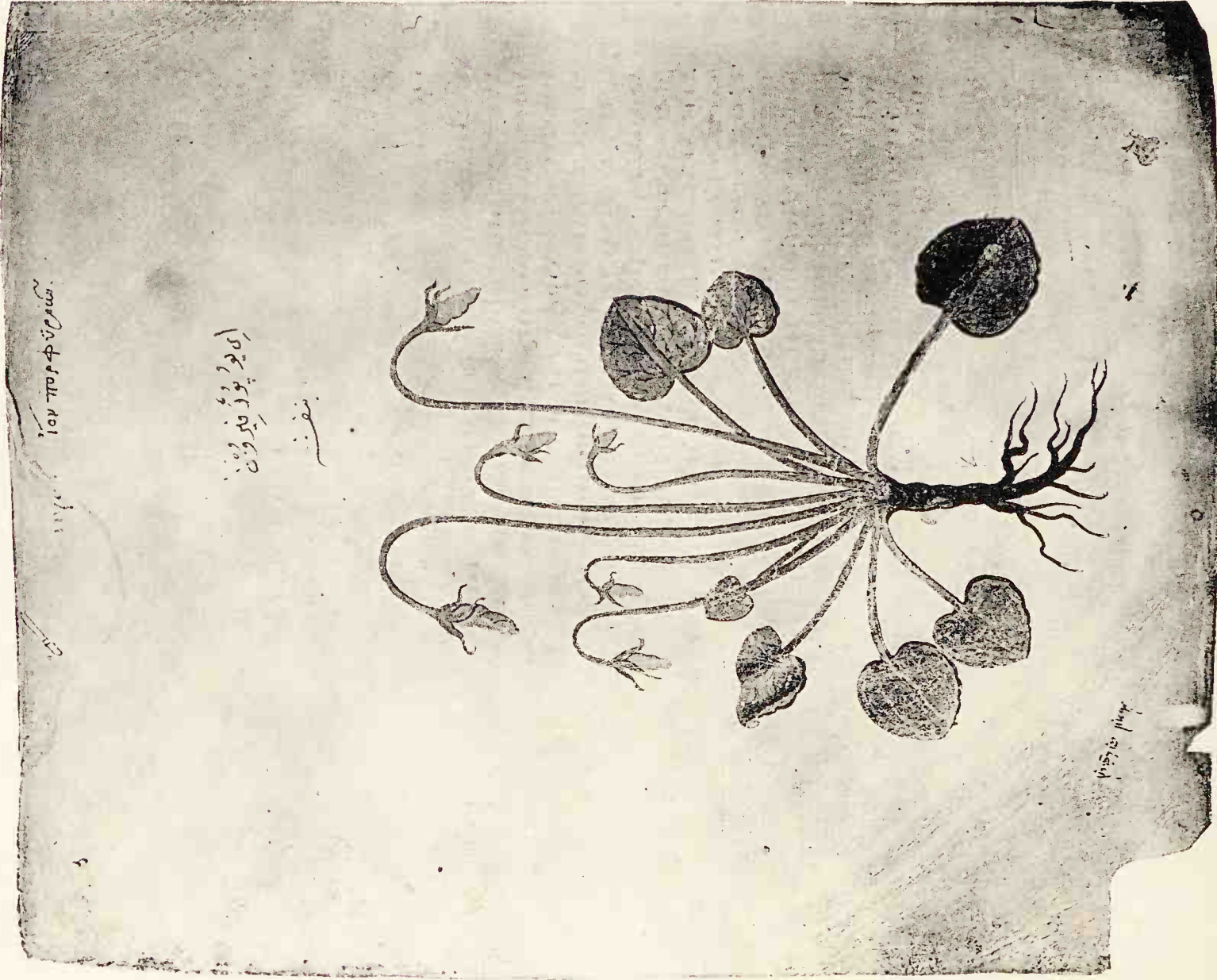


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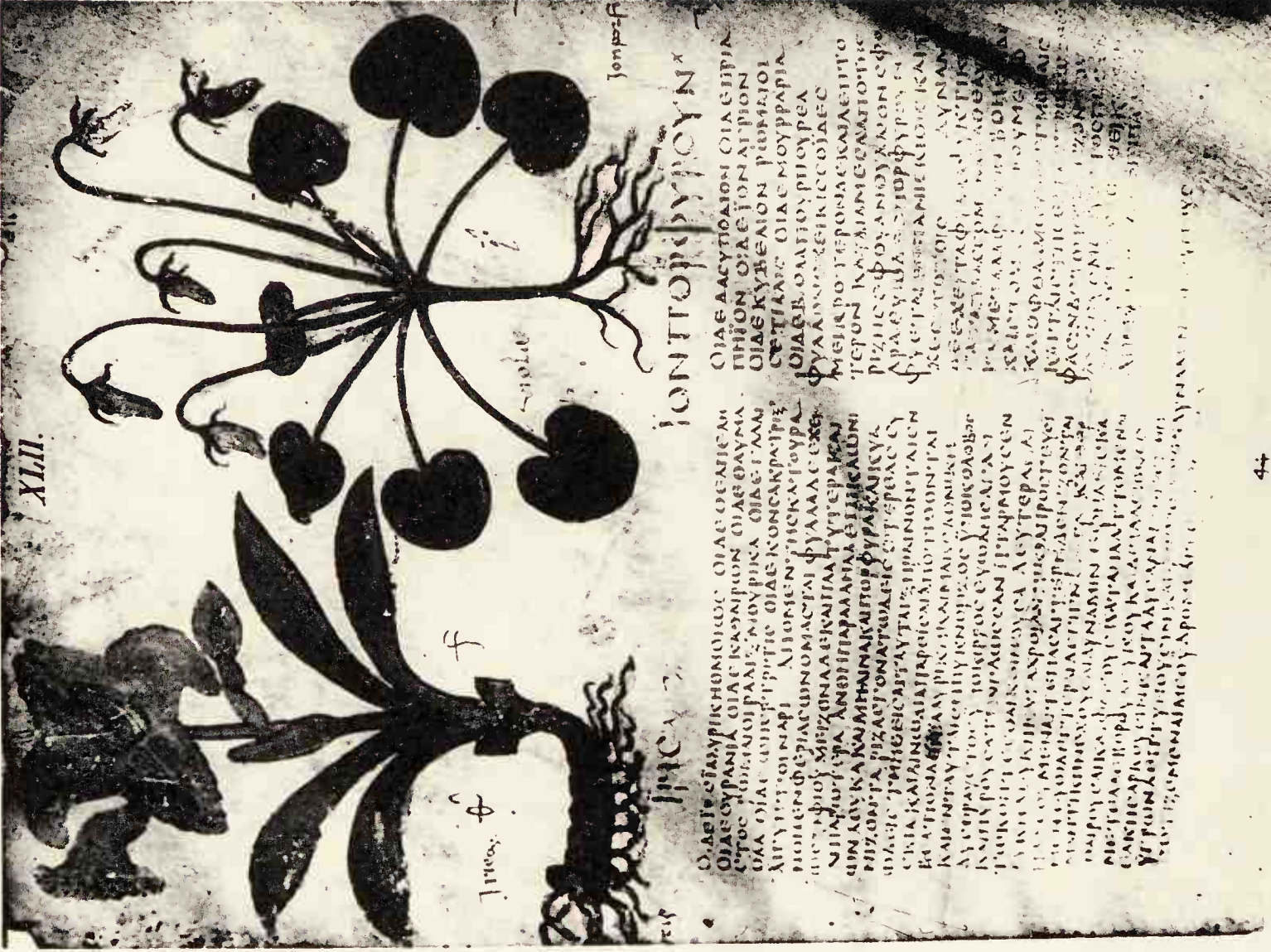


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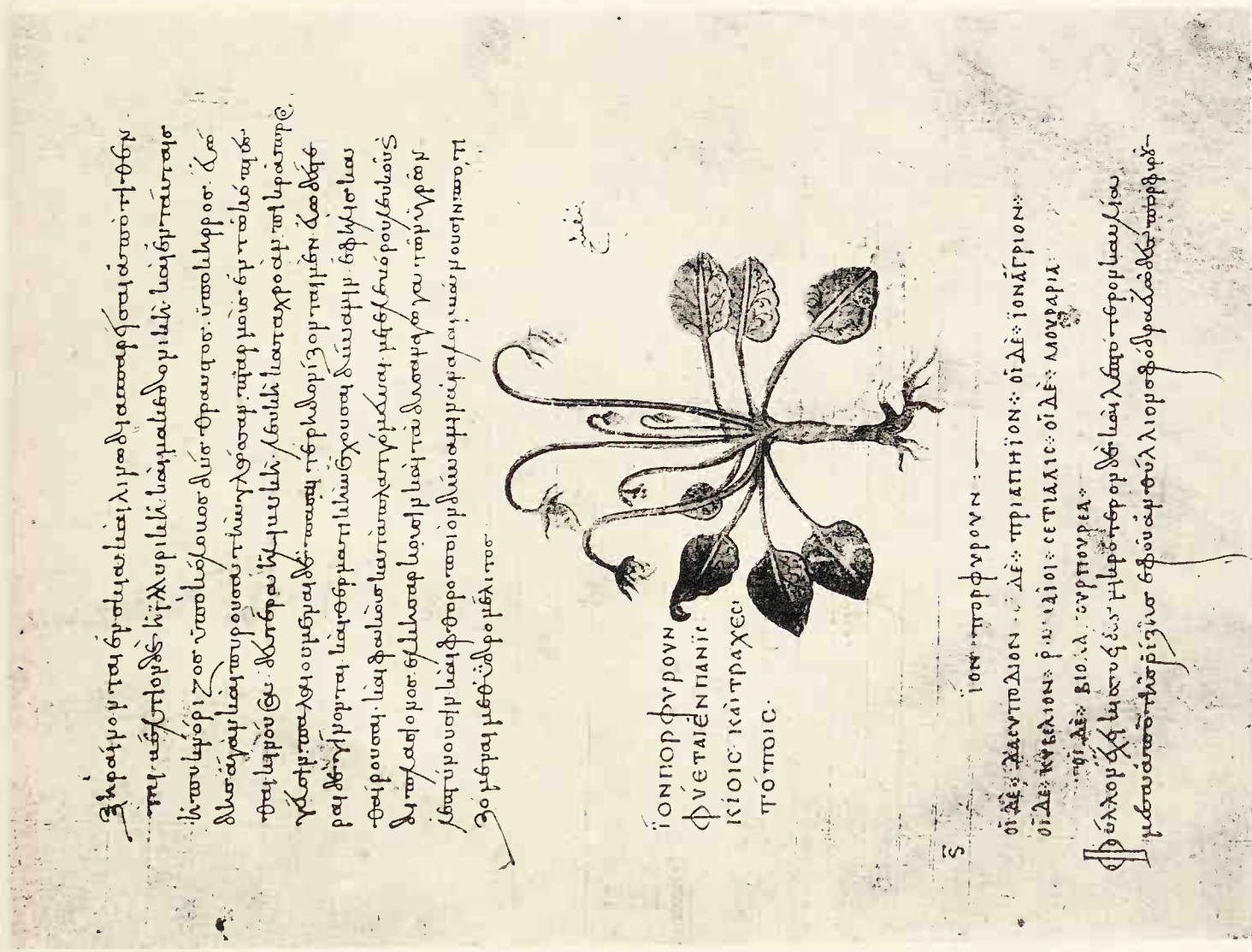


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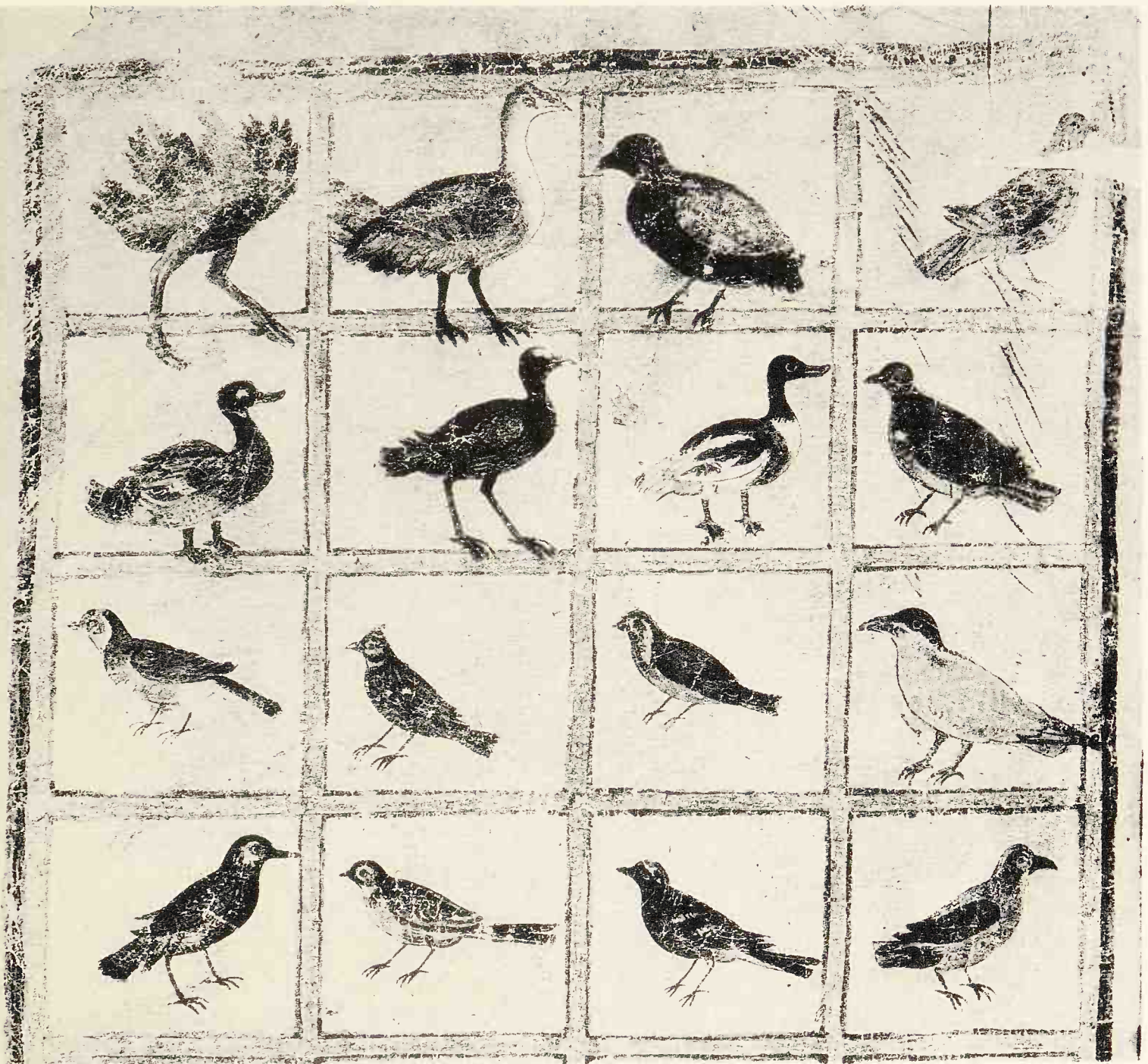


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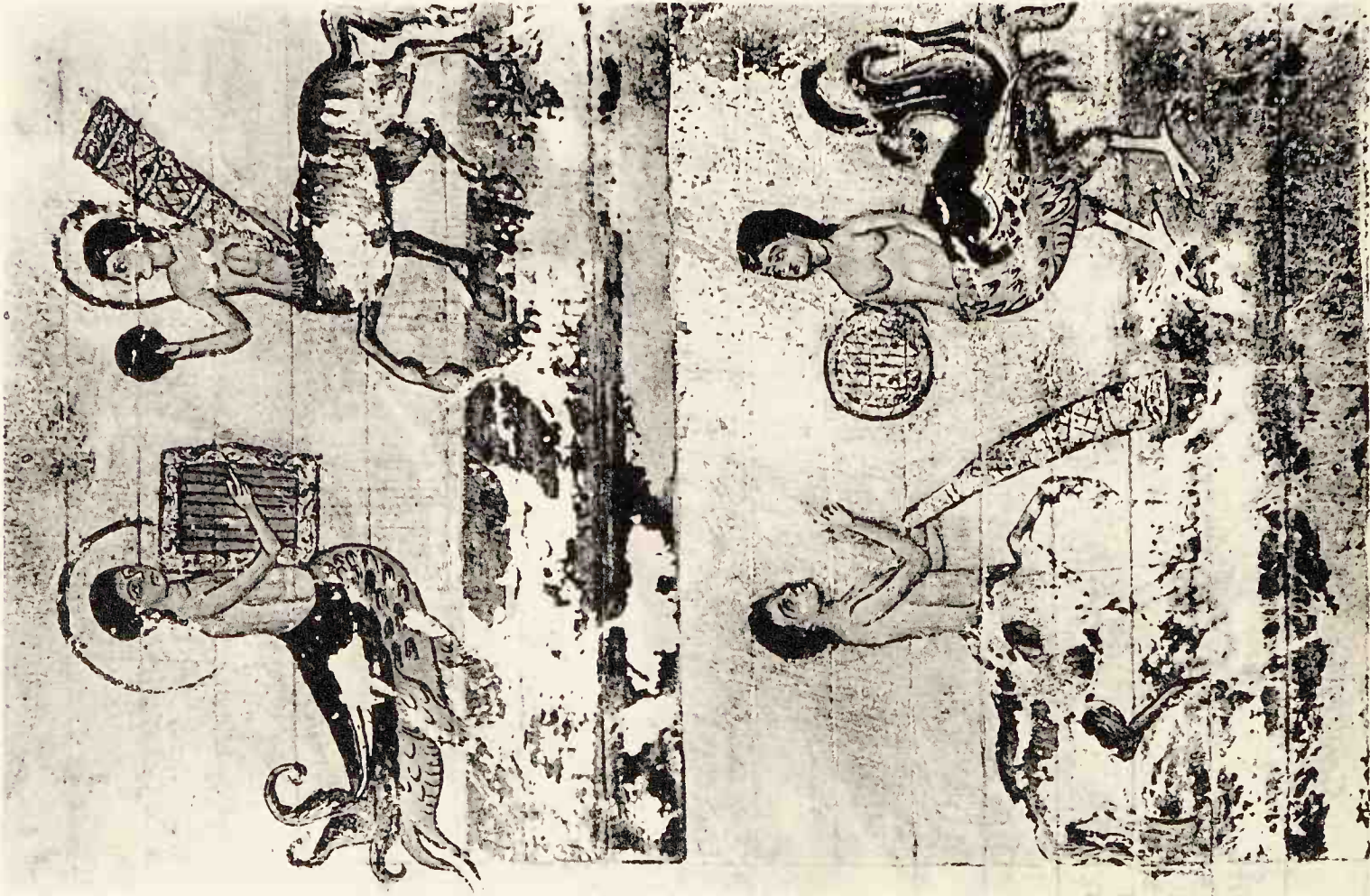


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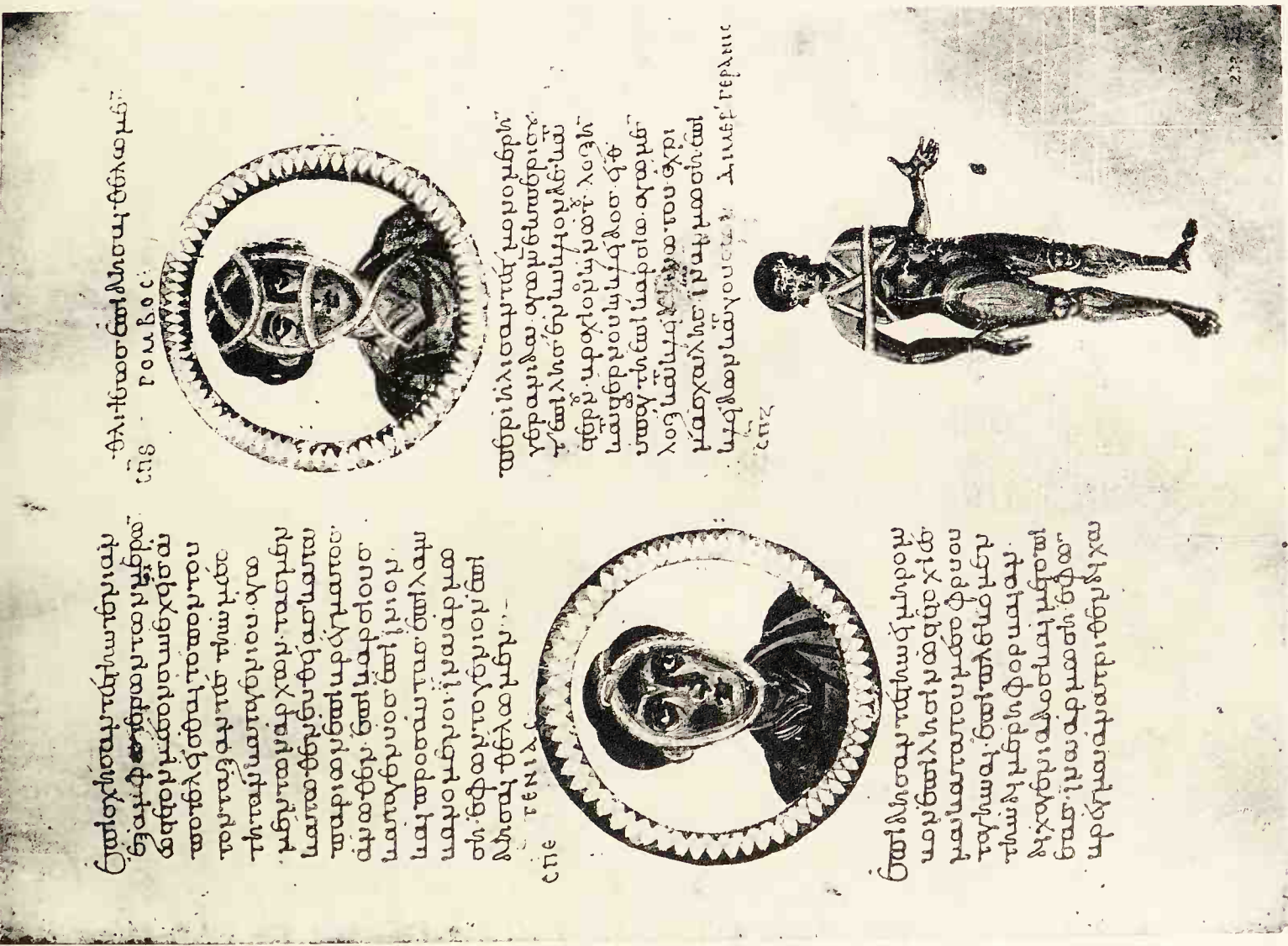


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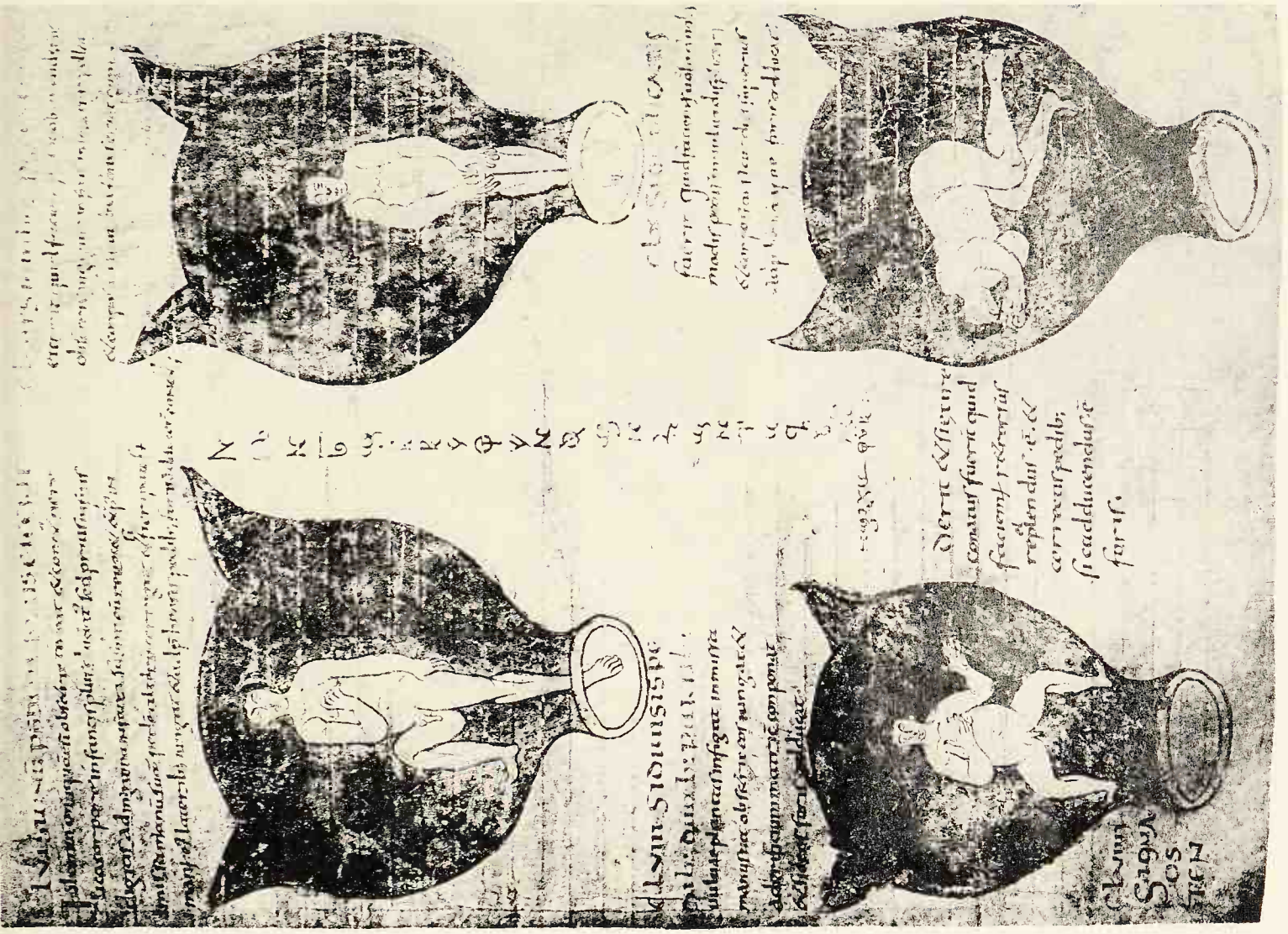


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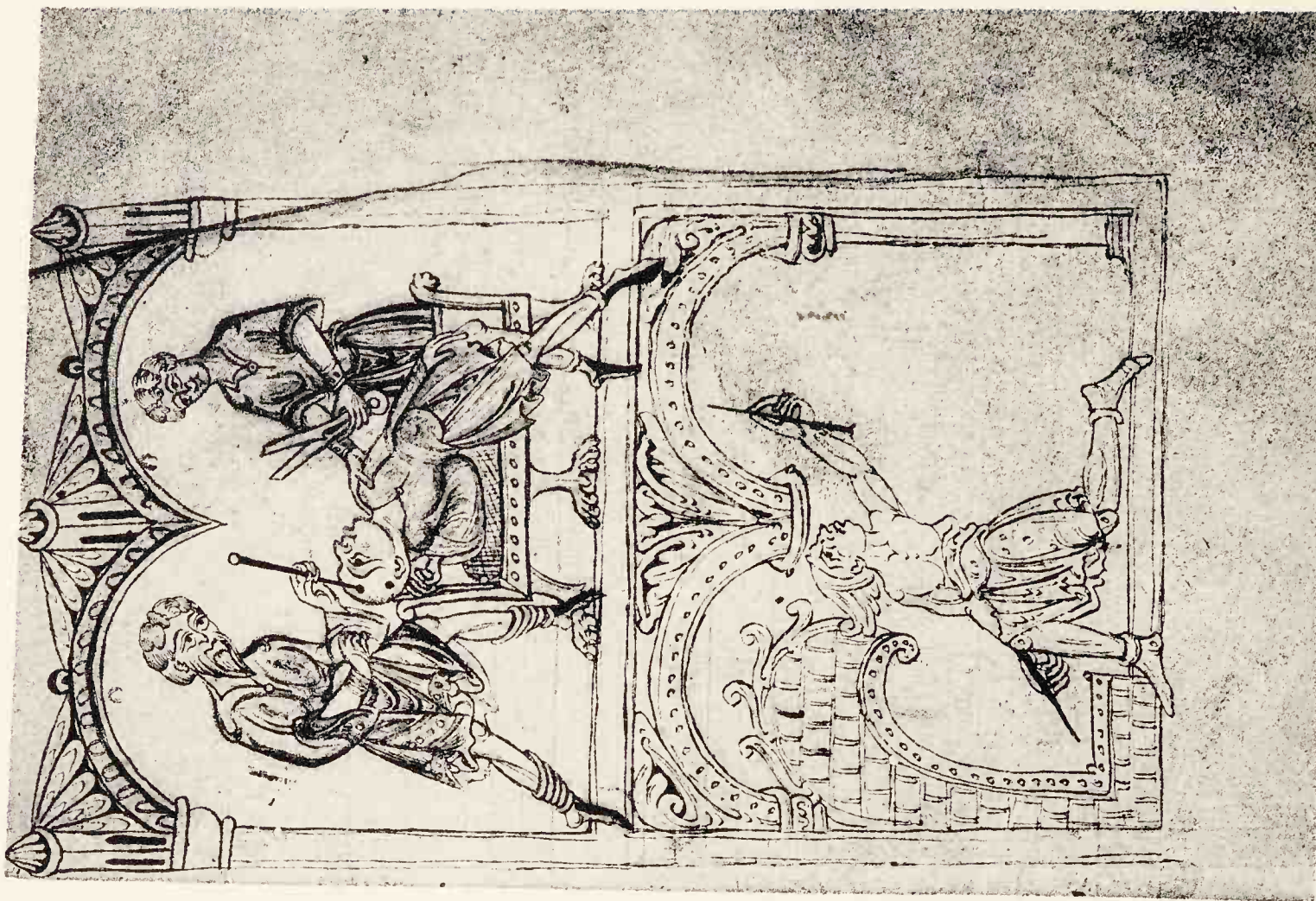


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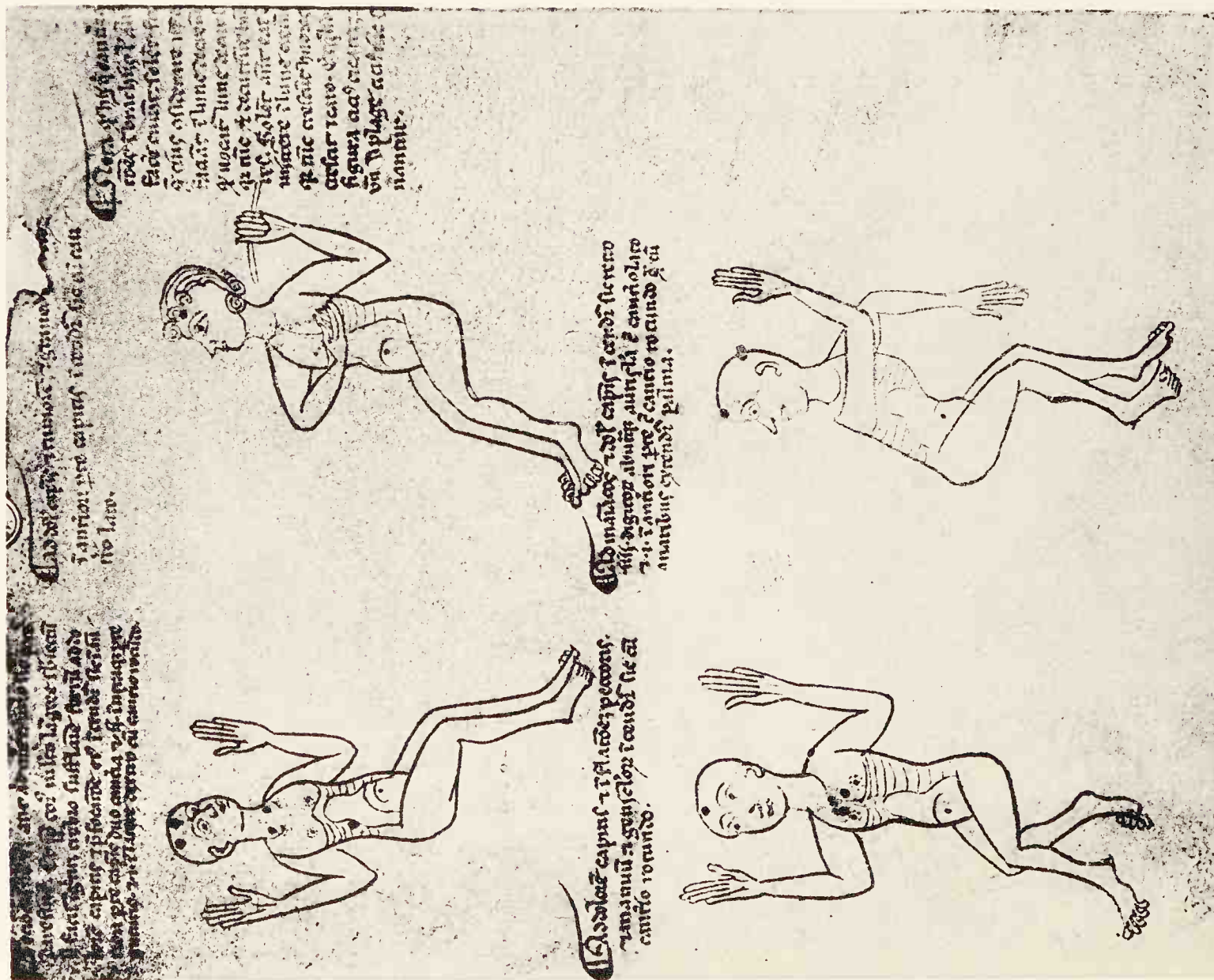


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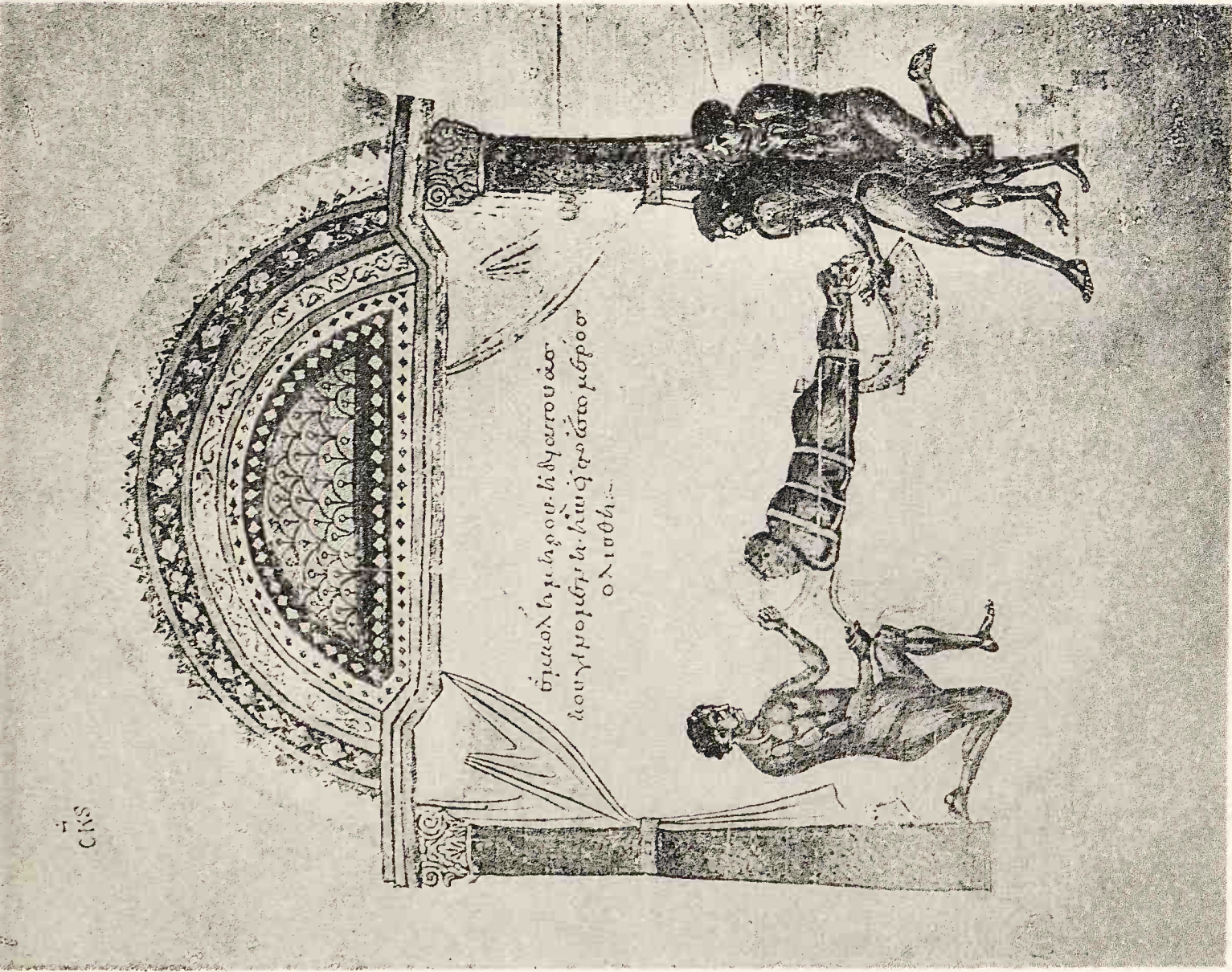


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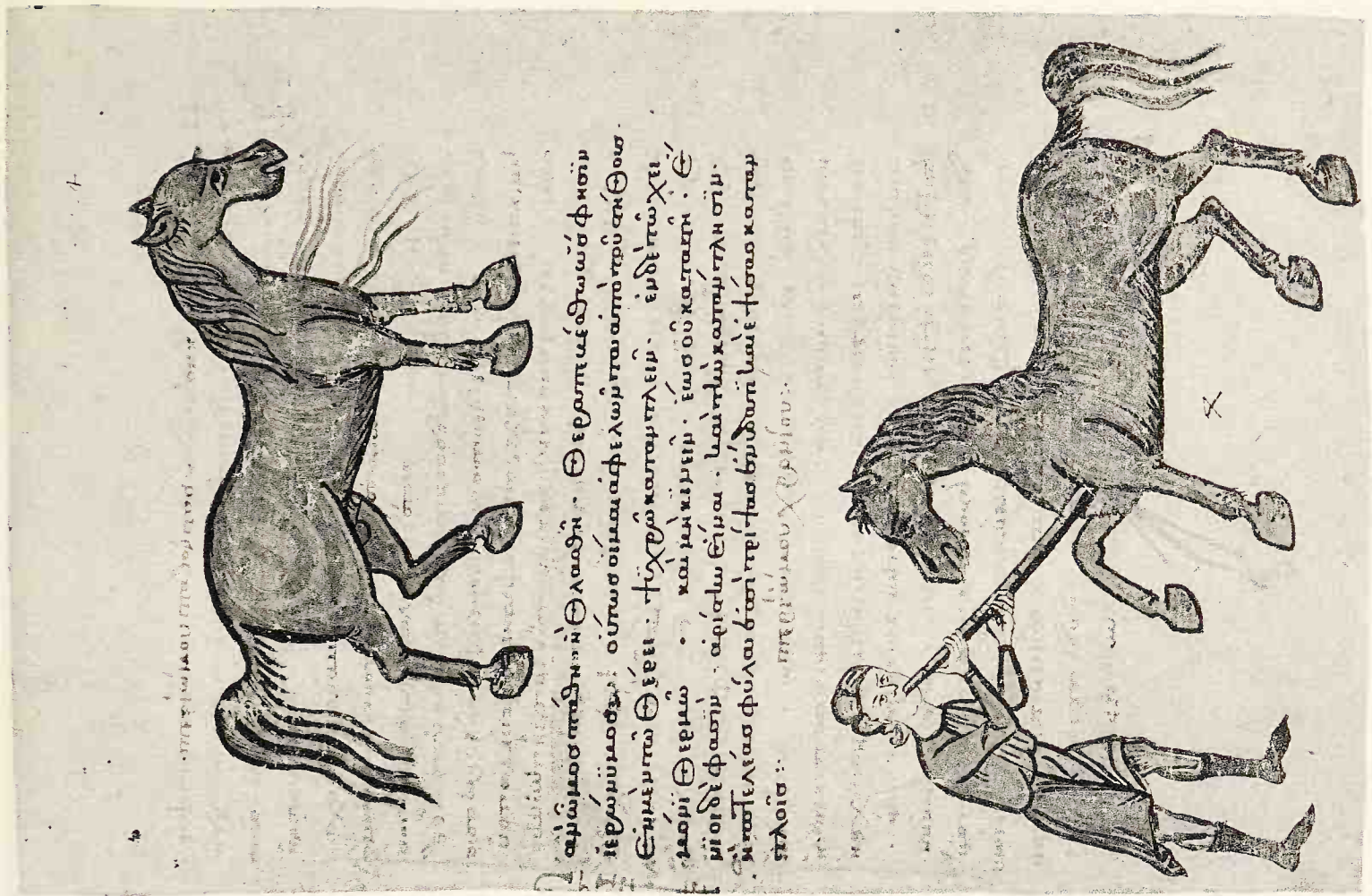


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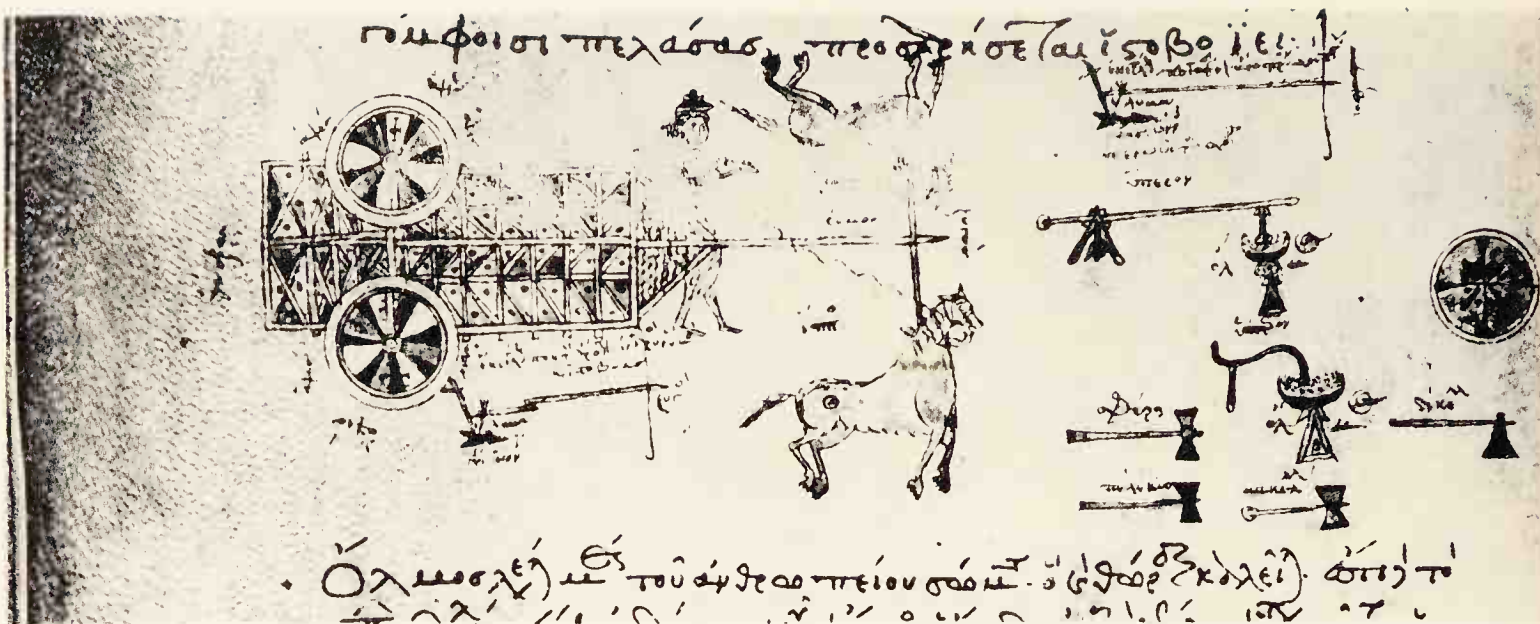


Figure 28. Cambridge, Trin. College. Cod. O.IX.27. Fol. 43^v.

In fronte tres equi bus media splendor est In dorso tres
claras In ventre duas In cauda quinq; In aculeo duas sunt
omnes decem et noue



Figure 29. Cologne, Dombibl. Cod. 83II. Fol. 157^v.

In sinistro geniculo unam In dextera manu unam qui uocatur
ropalus



Figure 30. Cologne, Dombibl. Cod. 83II. Fol. 156^v.



Figure 31. Venice, Marc. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 66^v.



Figure 32. Venice, Marc. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 2^r.



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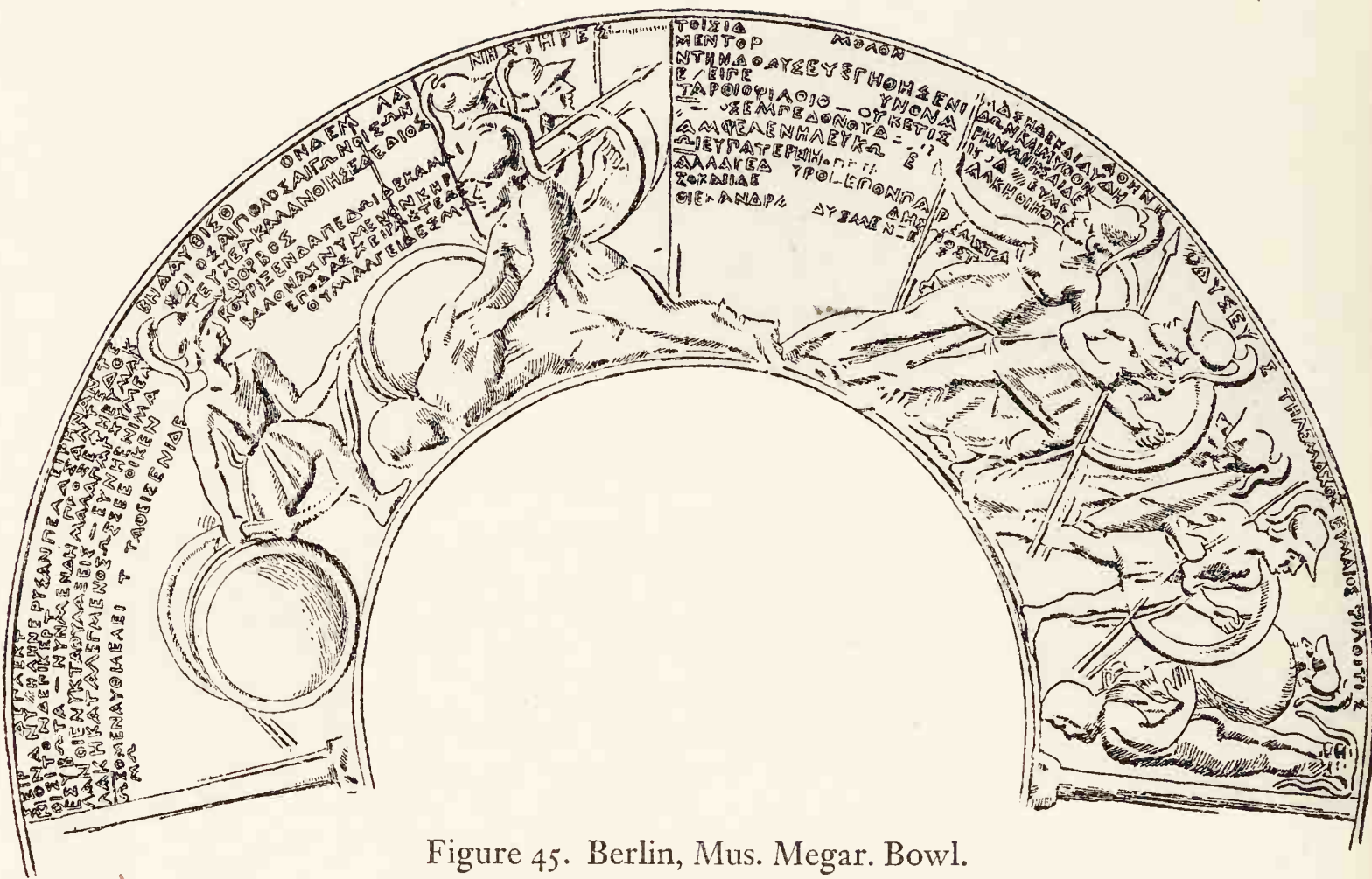


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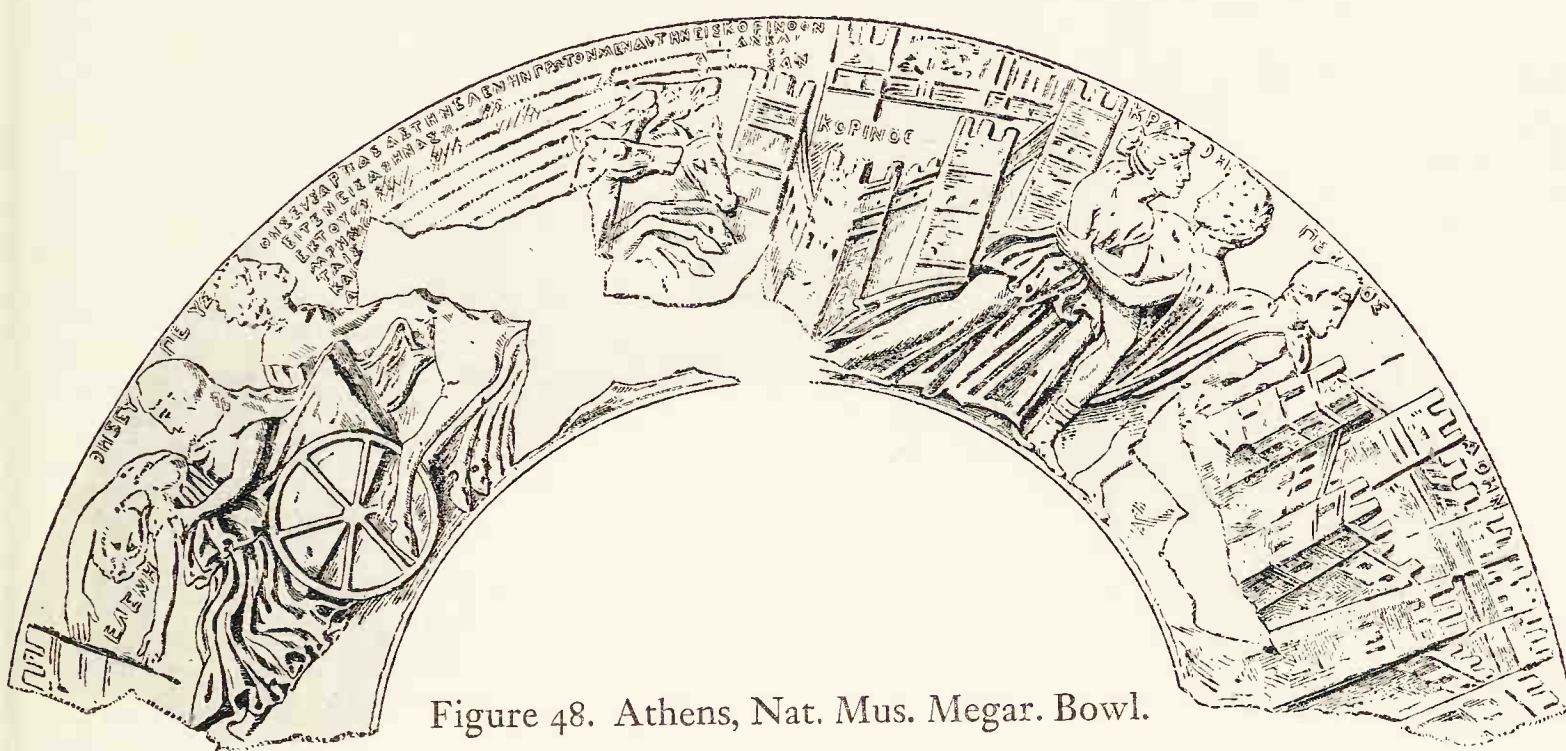


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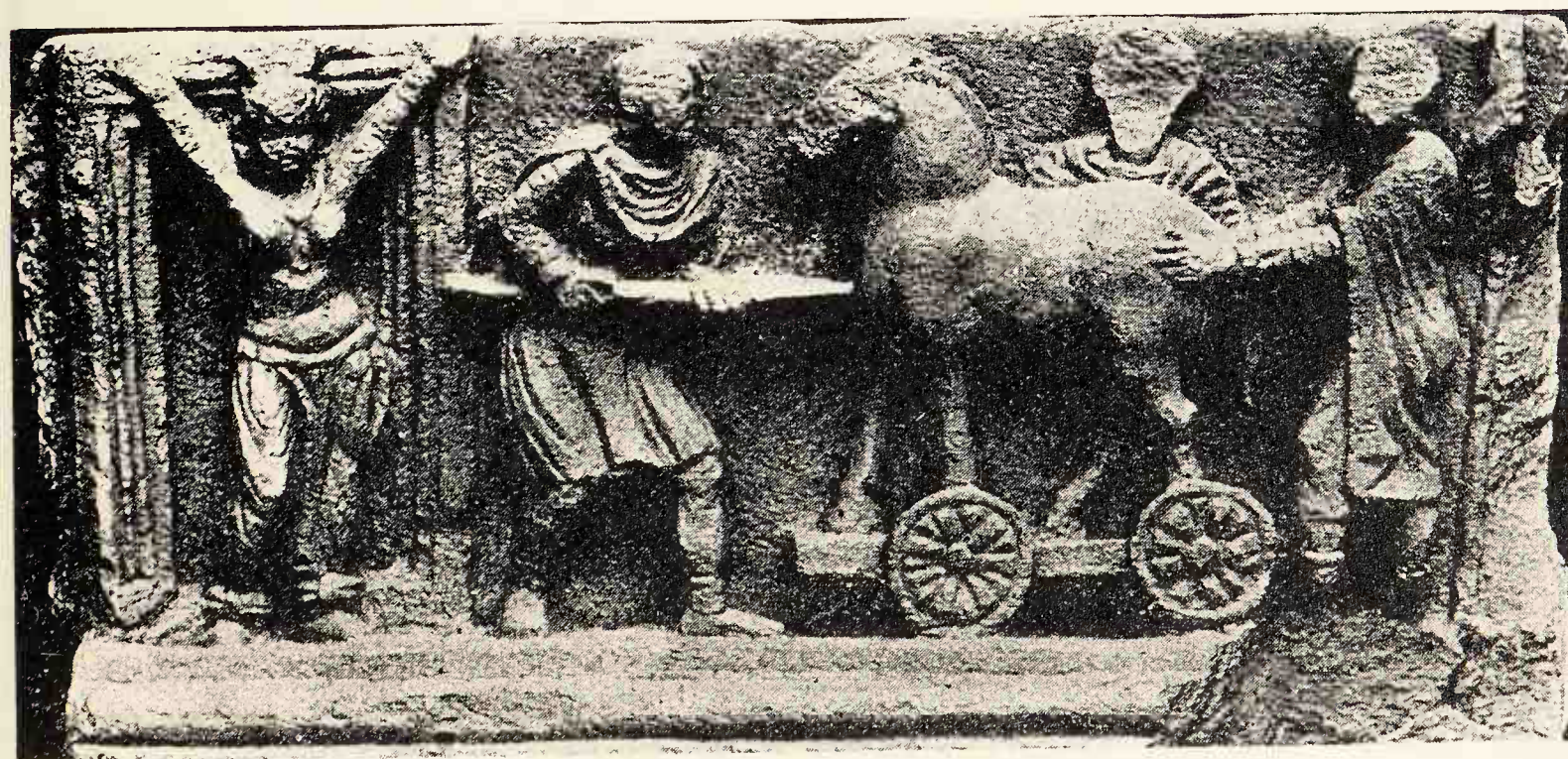


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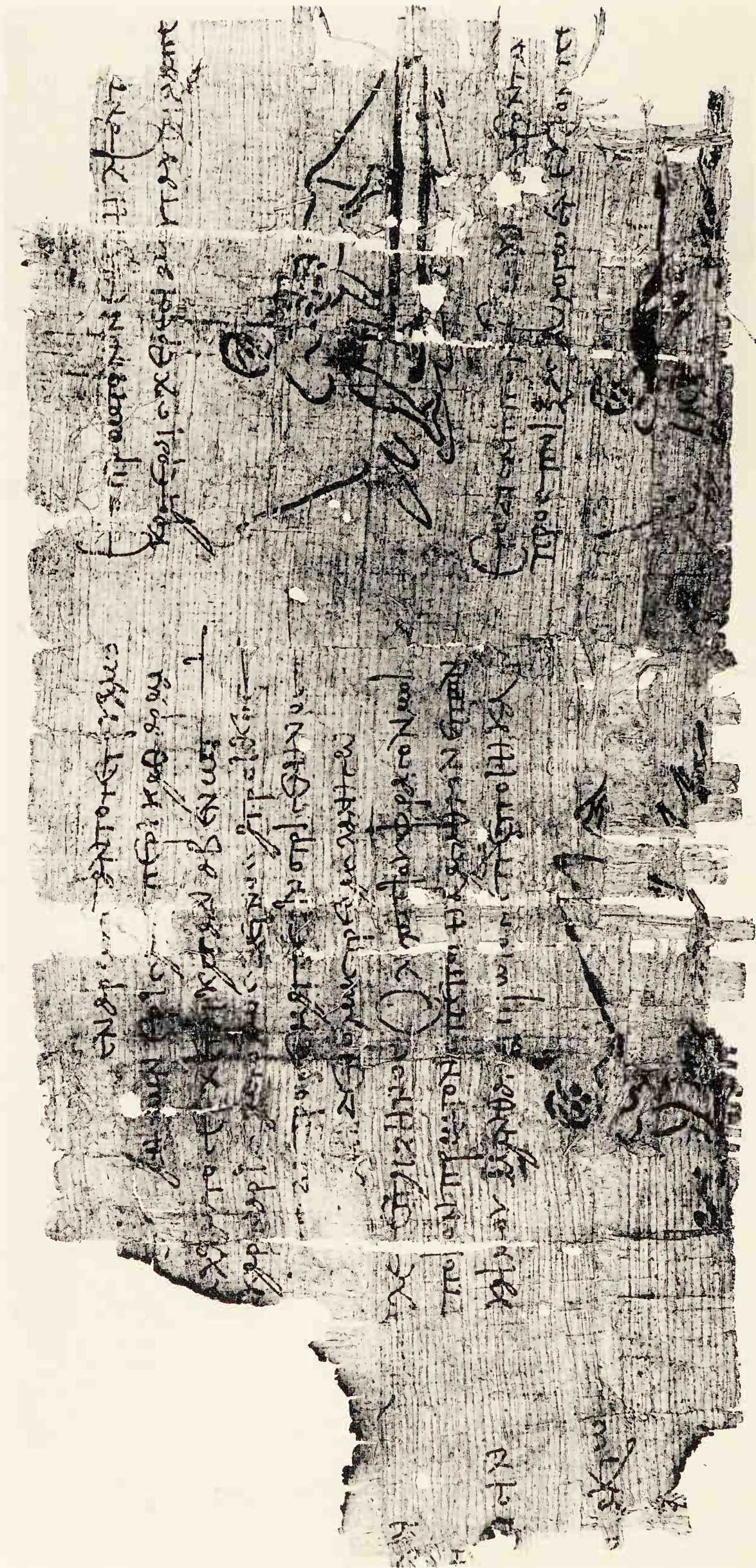


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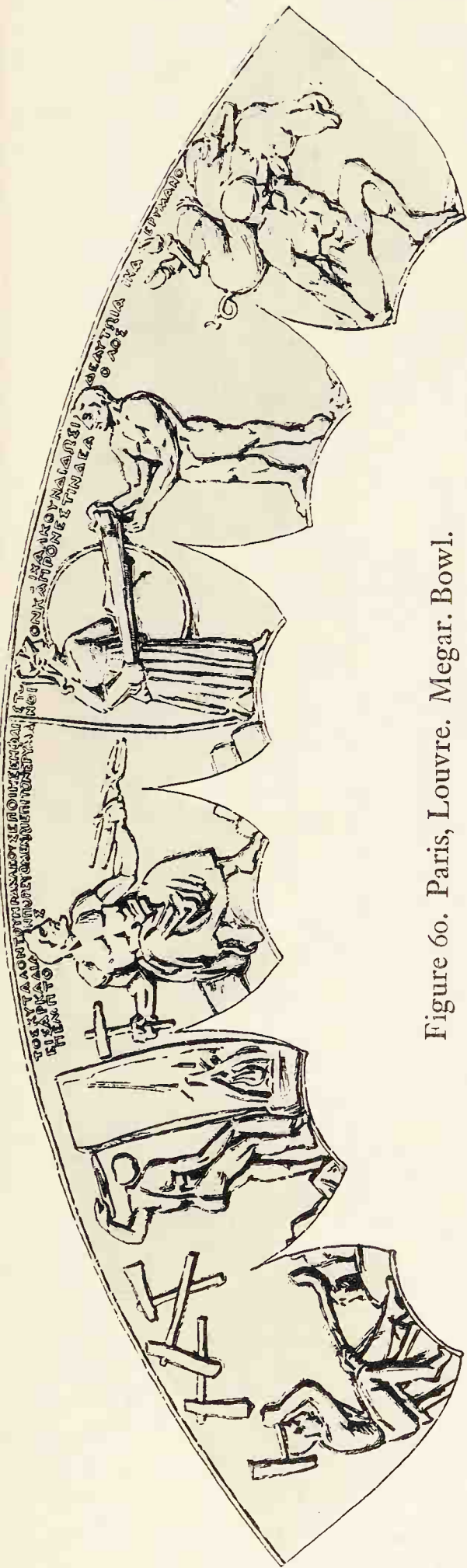


Figure 60. Paris, Louvre. Megar. Bowl.



Figure 61. Venice, Marc. Cod. gr. 479. Fol. 24r.

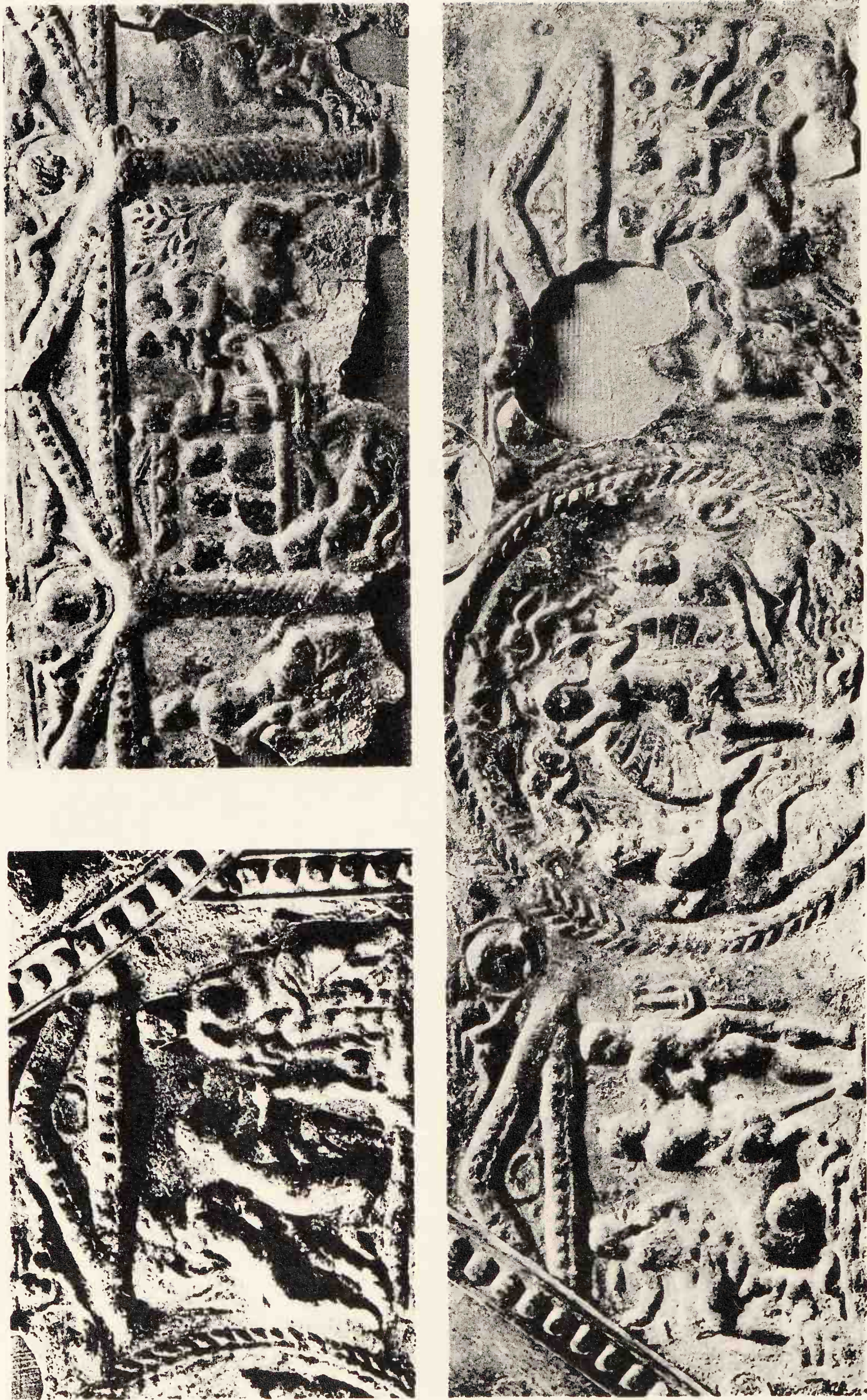


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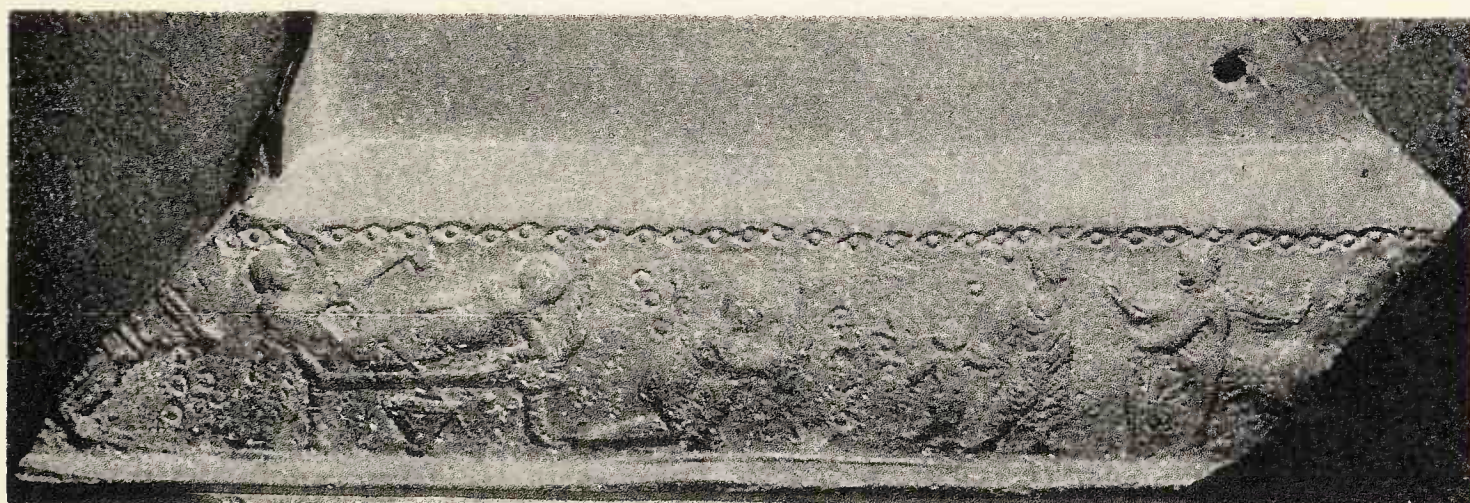


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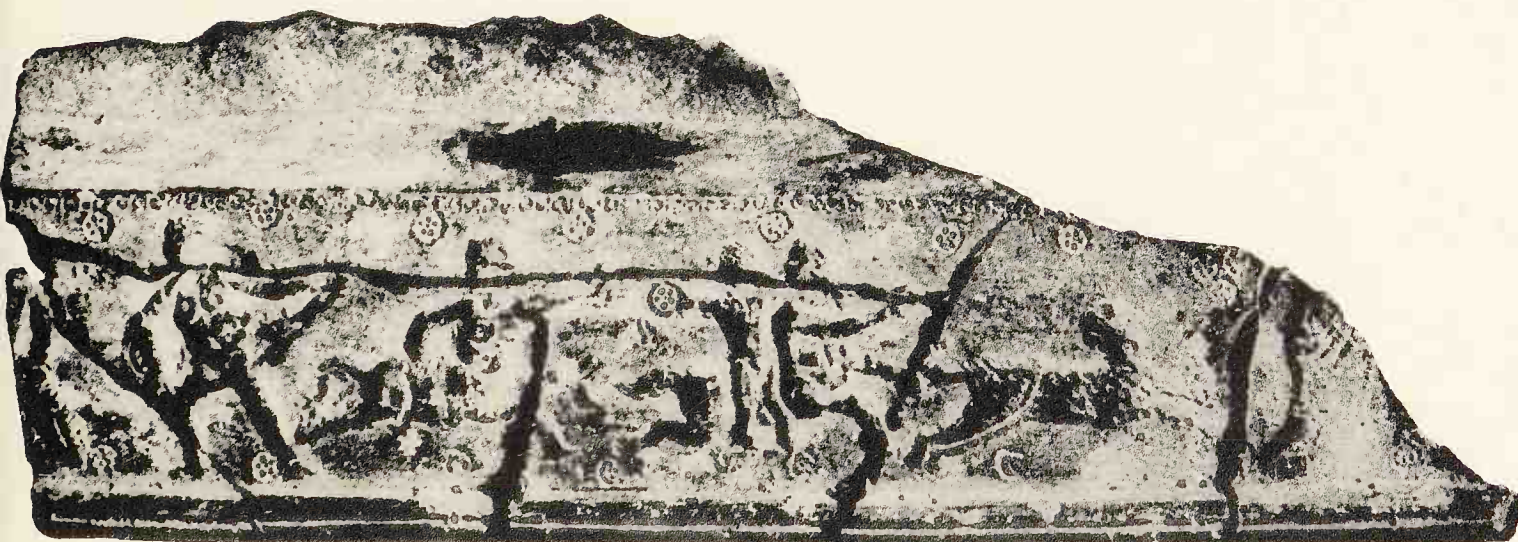


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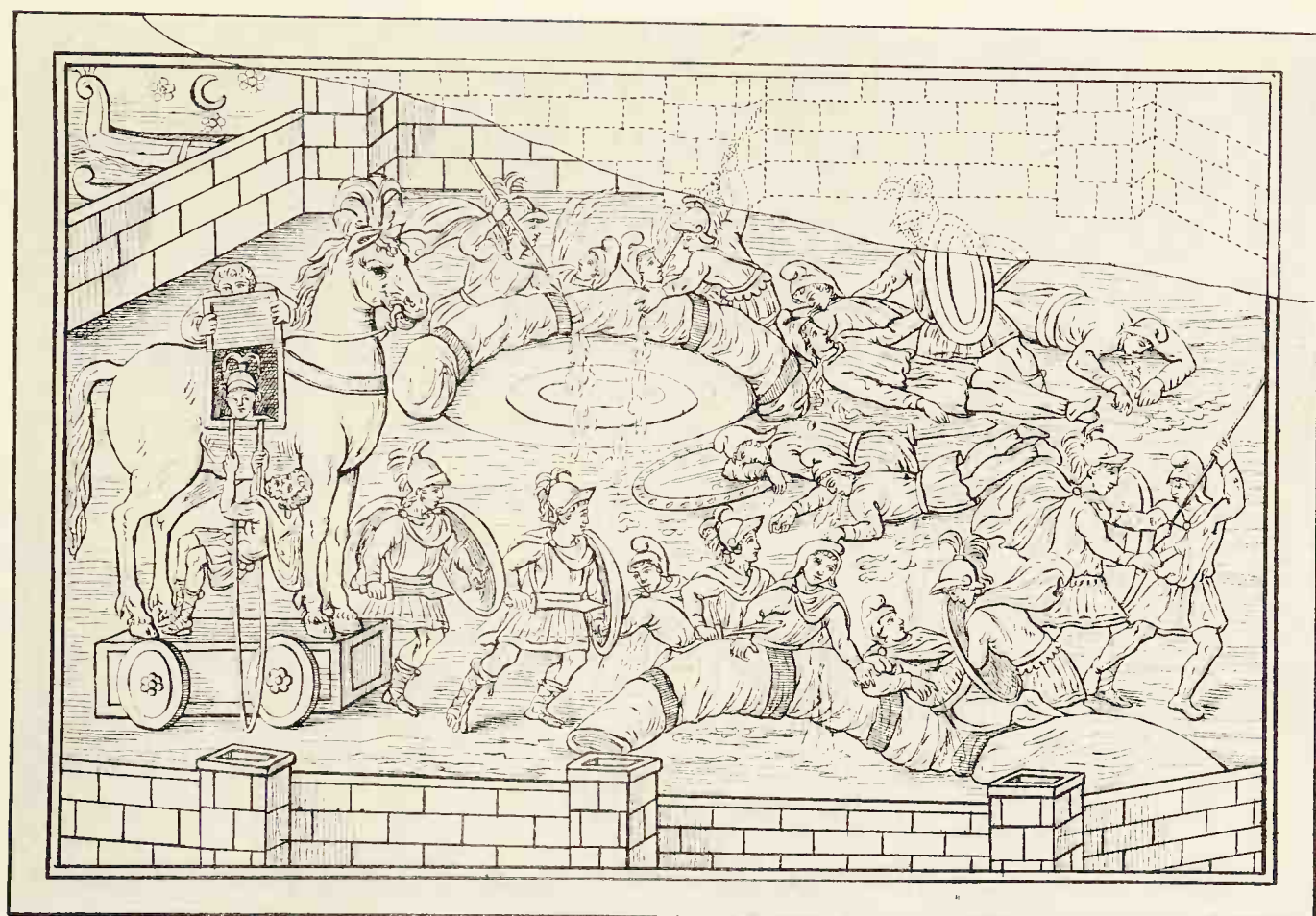


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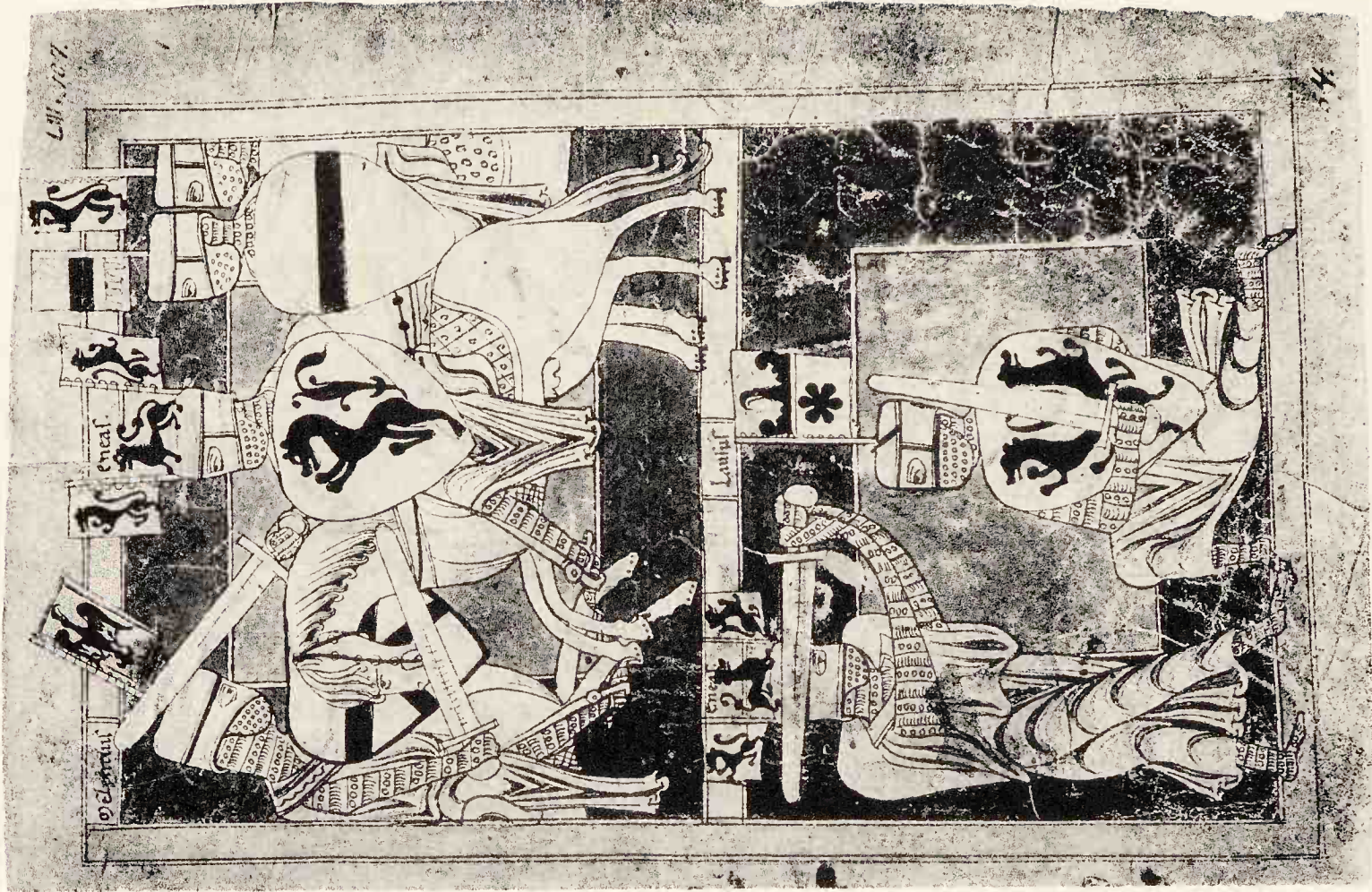


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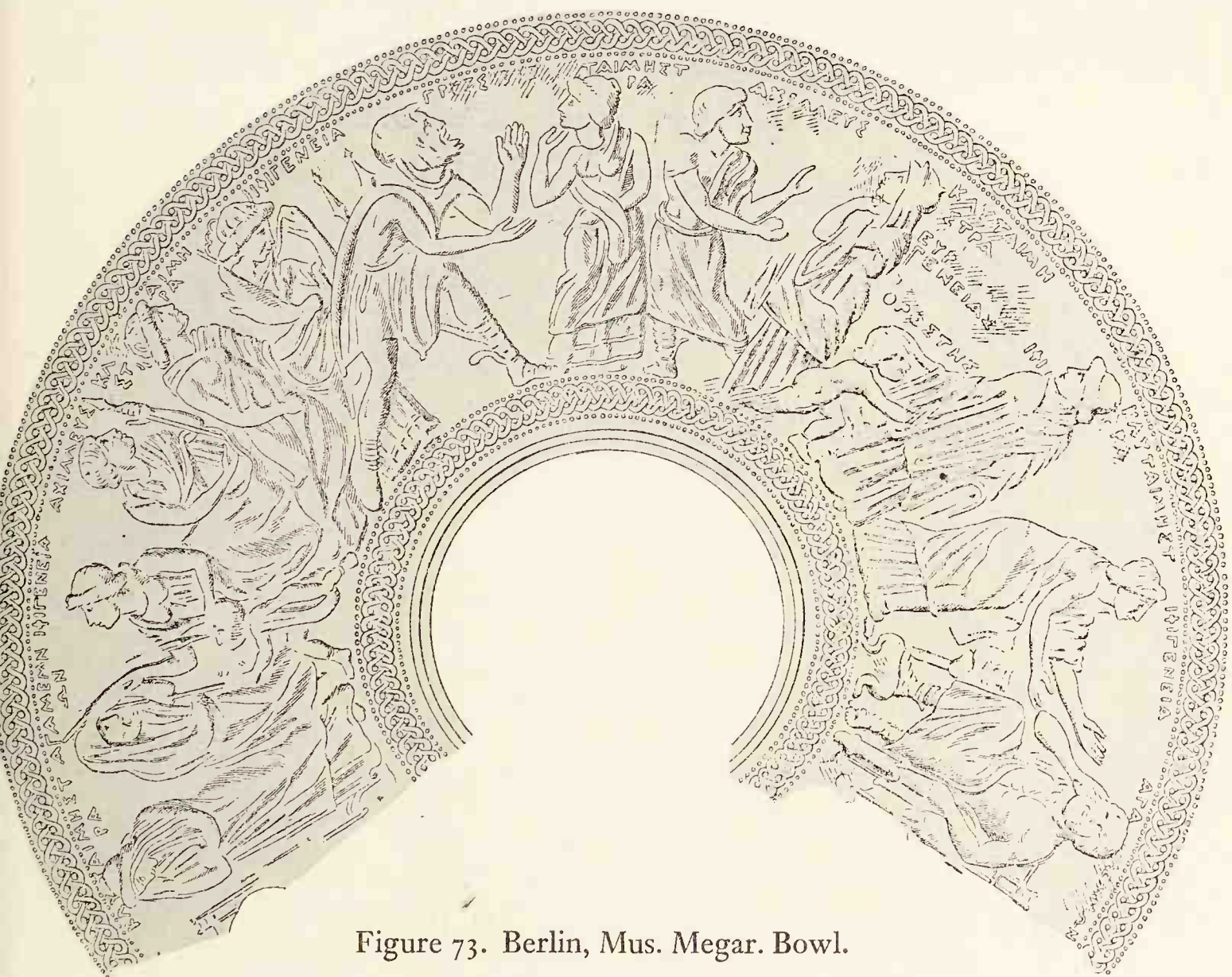


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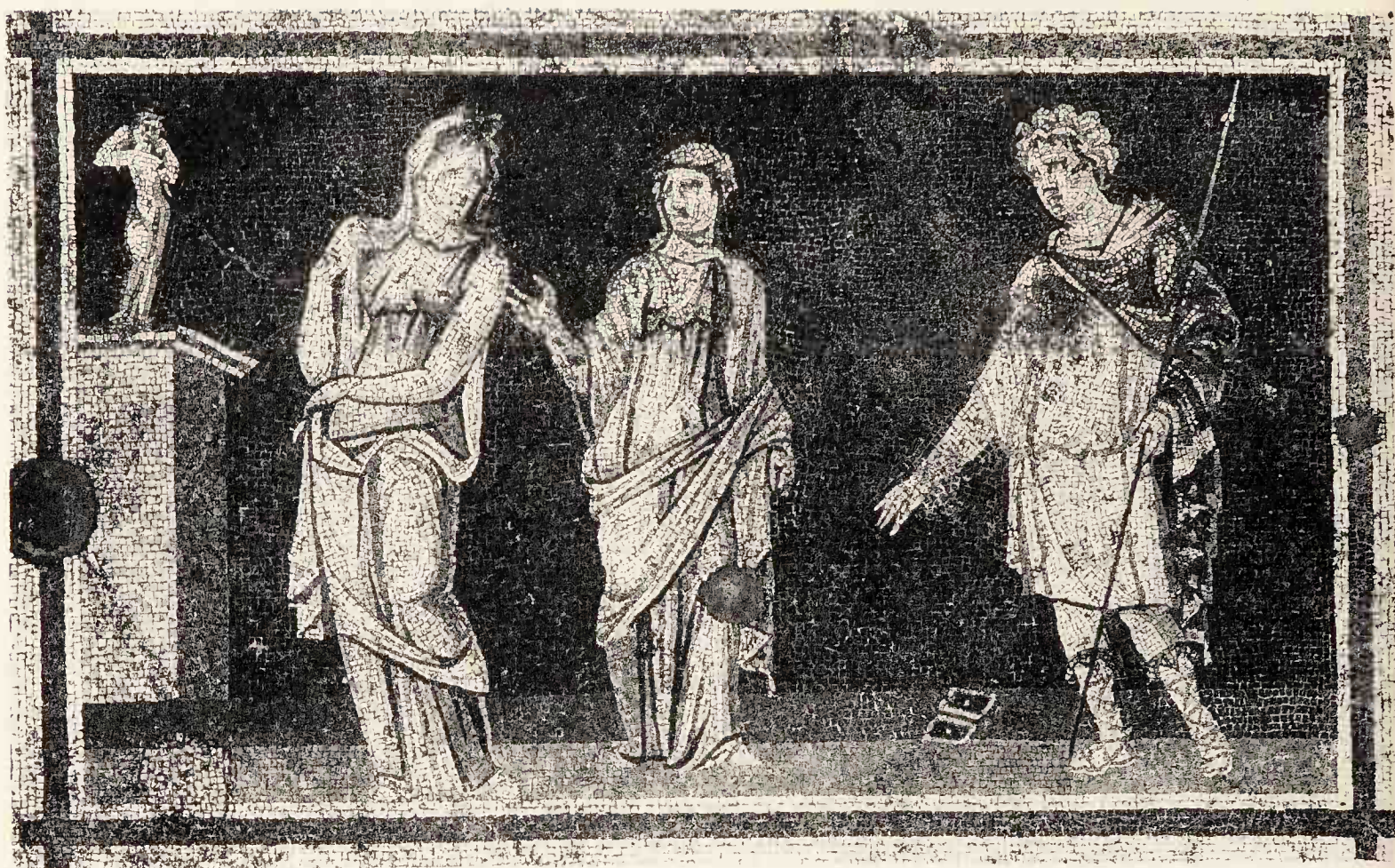


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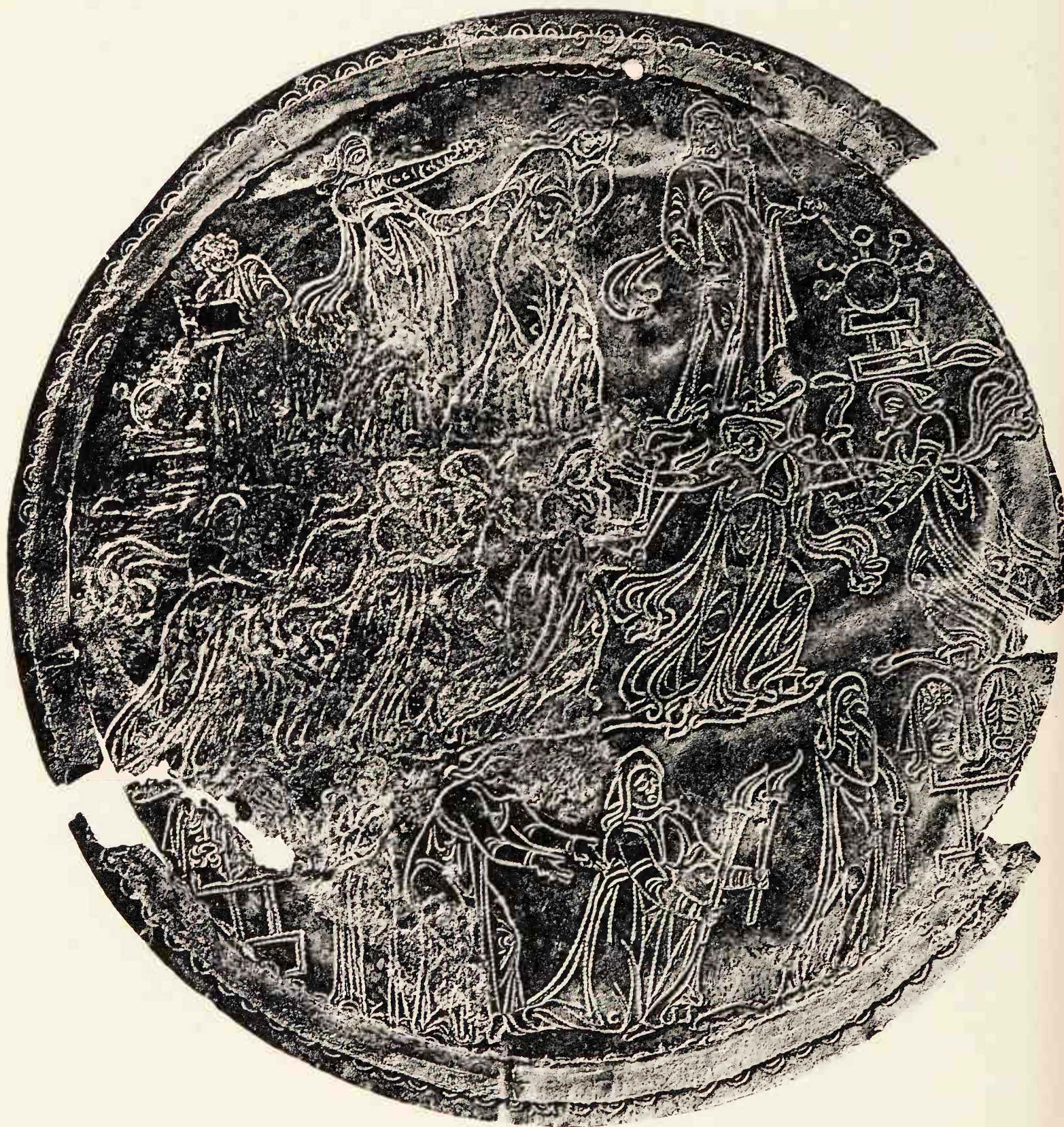


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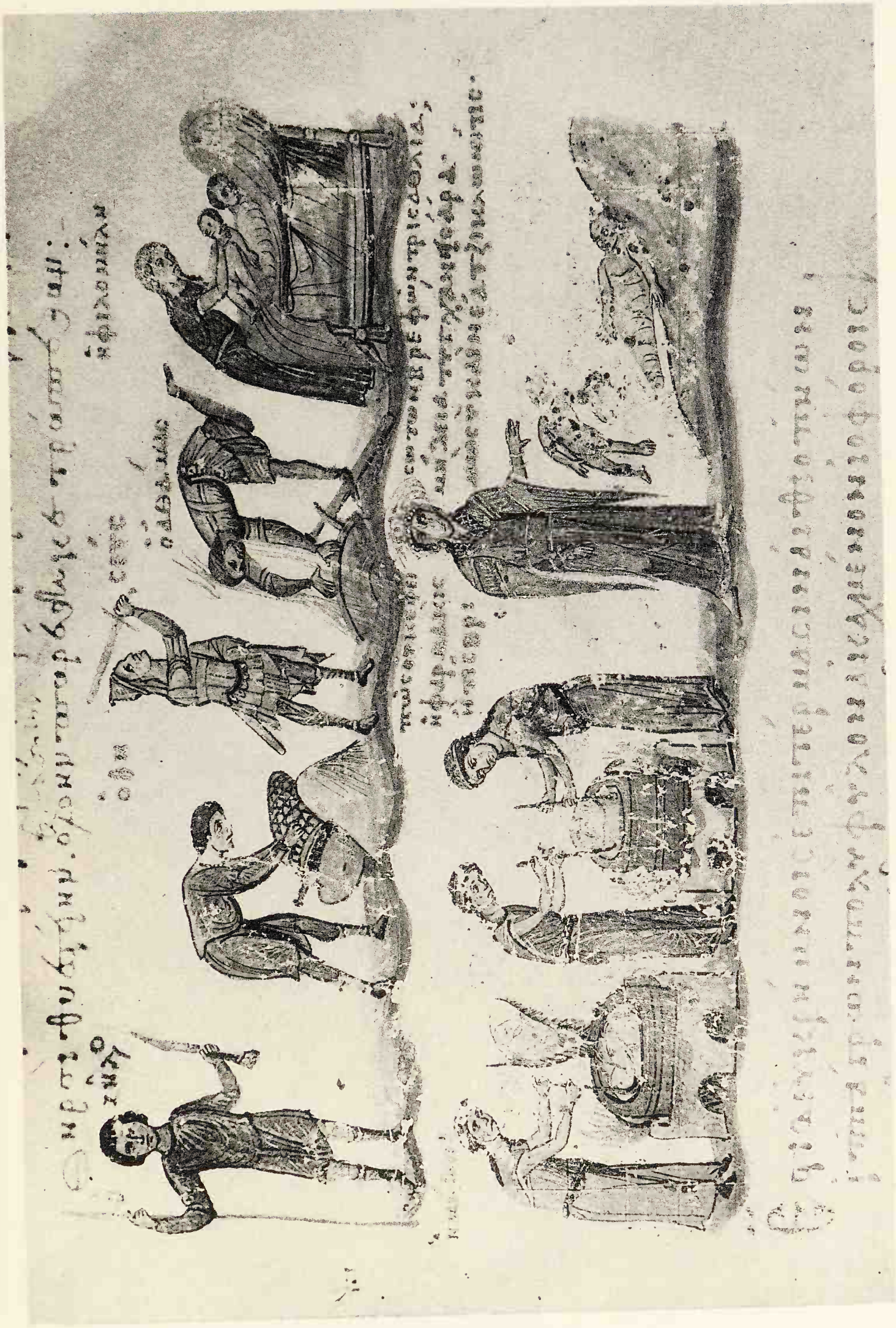


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Figure 91. Ulpia Oescus. Mosaic.



Figure 92. Pompeii, Casa del Centenario. Fresco.



Figure 93. Vatican. Cod. lat. 3868. Fol. 3^r.

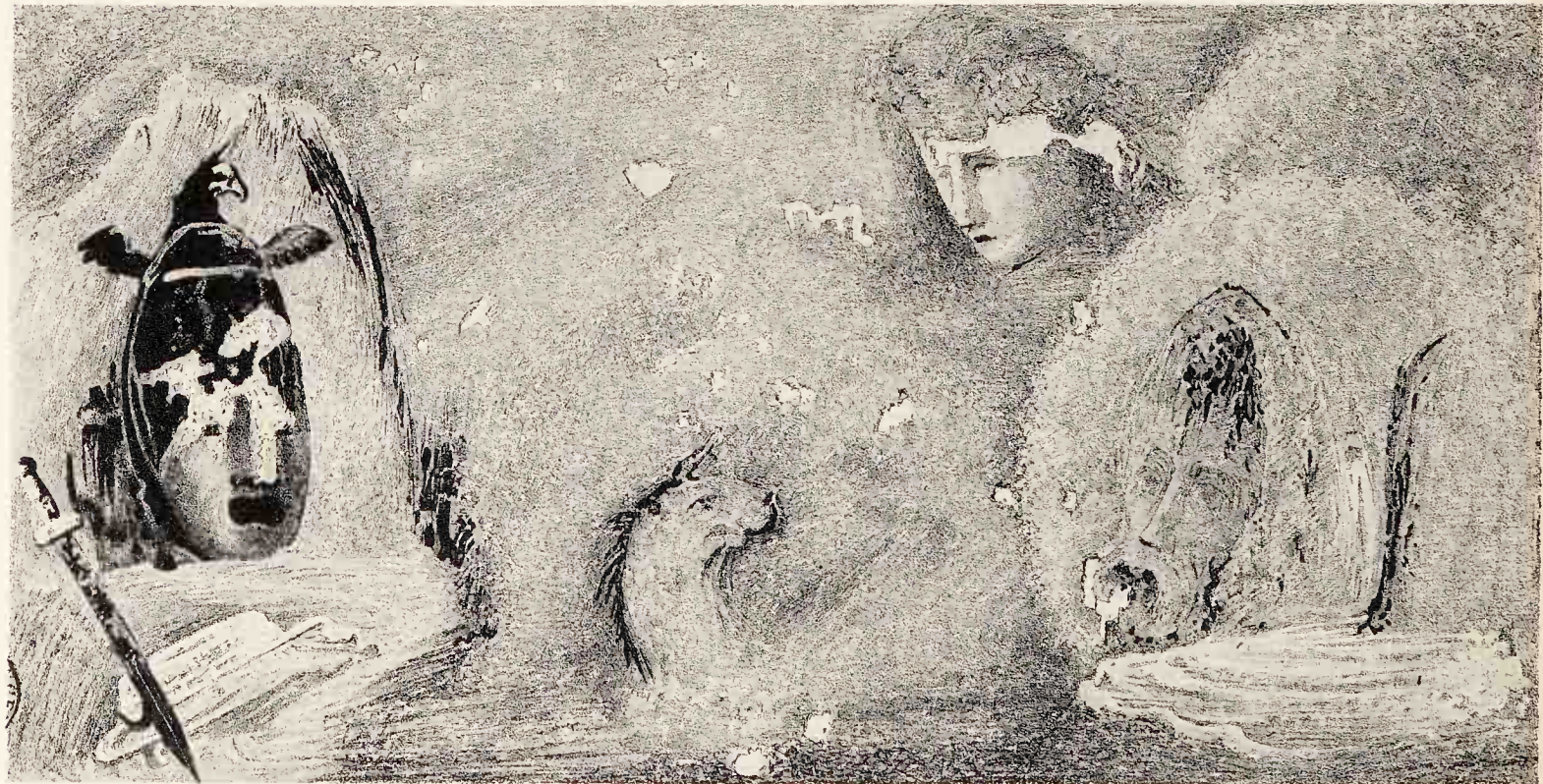


Figure 94. Pompeii. Reg. I. ins. II. 6. Fresco.

^{hic non est filius}
aut hoc est filium esse si frater autem solus esset quum ager mortem gereret hic non mandus
hic in enon gestandus in sinu esse hem itaq; adeo magis militum et sua commo ditate curā
nem prudens forte factum quod nolit scire scilicet aucto sed cesso ire intro non videris nuptus ego
met stem

DEMEA SENEN

^{hic non est filius}
DEM desissum ambulando ut sit te cum tua monitione agnus per dat uipiter
petit ut uisq; omne oppidum ad portum ad lacum quo non nec fabrica illuc illuc
nes fructum homo uidisse se auct quisquā nunc uero domi certū obfideret usque
donec redierit

MICIO SENEN

^{hic non est filius}
MIO ibo illud dicam nullū esse in nobis mortuum DEM sed ecce ipsū te iam dudū quatuor mīto
MIO quid nam DEM fero alia flagitū aucte ingratia boni illius adulteranti MIO ecce autem

DEMEA SENEN

^{hic non est filius}
DEM noua capitalis MIO obsequium DEM habetis quid uisite MIO scio DEM de cubite audeptal
tra me somnia agere hoc spectatum in uirginem esse cūem MIO scio DEM cho sis & puer
MIO quid impatit DEM diem in non clamis somnia MIO non malum quid DEM puer natus
MIO diu bene uortante DEM uirgo nihil habet MIO audiui DEM & dicitur in dicitur adest
MIO scilicet DEM quid nunc futurū est MIO idem quod res ipsa fere illuc huc transferetur
uirgo DEM o uipiter istos in pacto oportet MIO quid faciam amplius DEM quid facias
rogas si non ipsa re tibi istuc dolo et simulari est certe hominis MIO quid nunc uirginem
despondit et composita est sunt nuptiae dempsim et cum omni nomen huc magis sunt hominis
DEM tunc placet tibi factum mīto MIO non si queam mutare nunc cum non queto acquo an
mo fero ita uita est hominum quasi cum ludas res sit illud quod maxime opus est actu
non cadit illud quod occidit forte idate ut corrigas DEM cor rectos nempe tua arte uipin
ti minie p palatia petere quae quatuor potest aliquo abicienda est si non pno uel gratia
MIO neq; est neq; illam sine se uideo uidetur DEM quid igitur facias MIO domi ette
DEM pidiuum fidem mīto tunc & nunc famulus ette una in domo MIO cur non DEM sanū
net credis esse MIO equidem arbitror DEM ita media mente uideo tuq; ego mortuū
factu rā credo ut habes quicquid ex tunc MIO cur non DEM & noua nuptia eadem
huc disces MIO scilicet DEM tu interea res tam ductas salubris MIO pbe & tunc ob
cū si opus sit DEM ei mihi nomen huc pudenter MIO iam uero emittit demitit uisus
iracundiam atq; ita uti deet hilarū ad libentem fac te in nati nuptis ego hoc sciat
nam post huc uideo DEM o uipiter hanc in uirginem huc in nati nuptis ego hoc sciat
uor sine dote ueniet in tunc palatia est domus sup tuosa ad uisus luxu p datus senex
delirans ipsa si cupit salus seruire pro suis non potest hanc familiam

SYRUS SERUUS

DEMEA SENEN

Figure 95. Vatican. Cod. lat. 3868. Fol. 60^v-61^r.

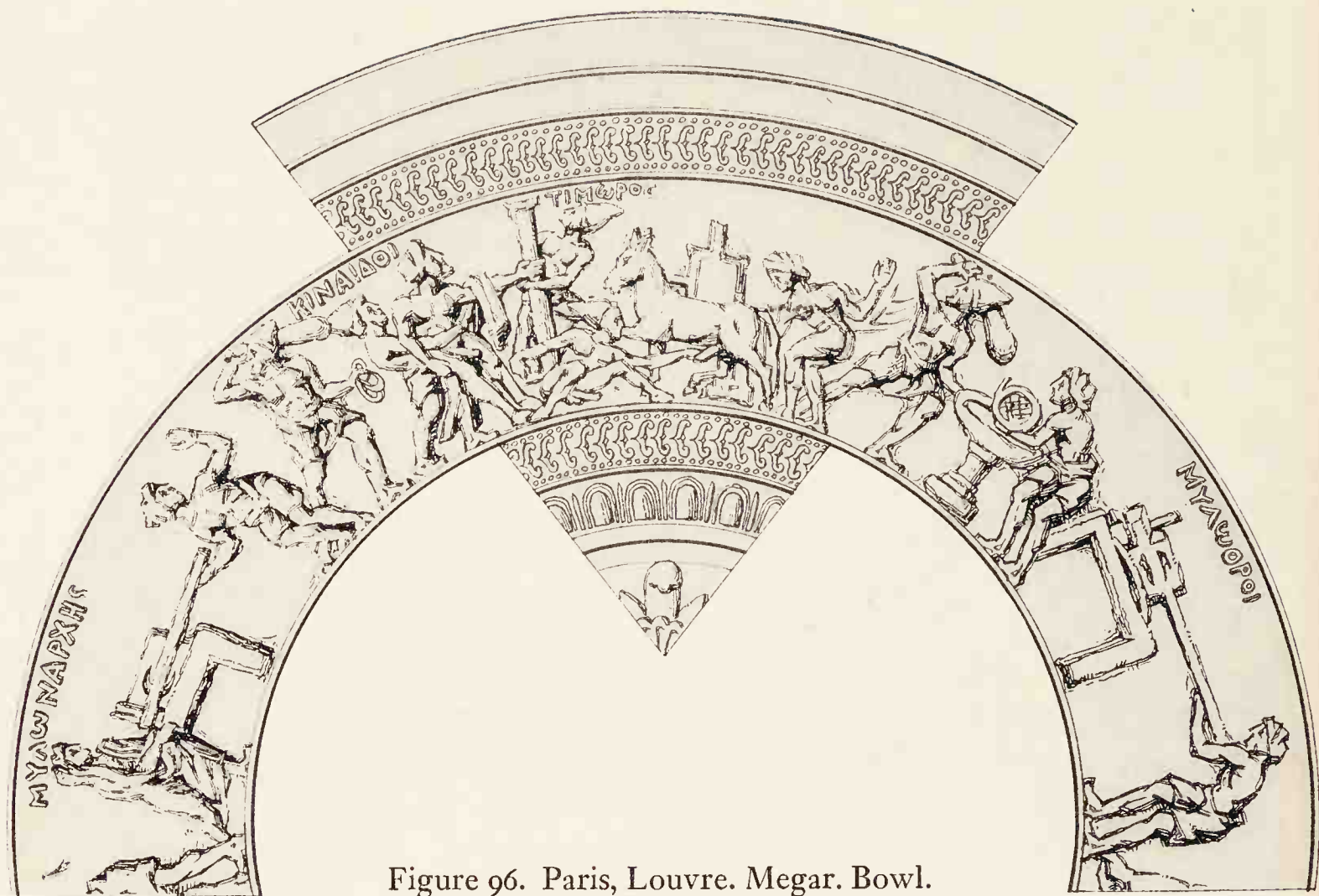


Figure 96. Paris, Louvre. Megar. Bowl.

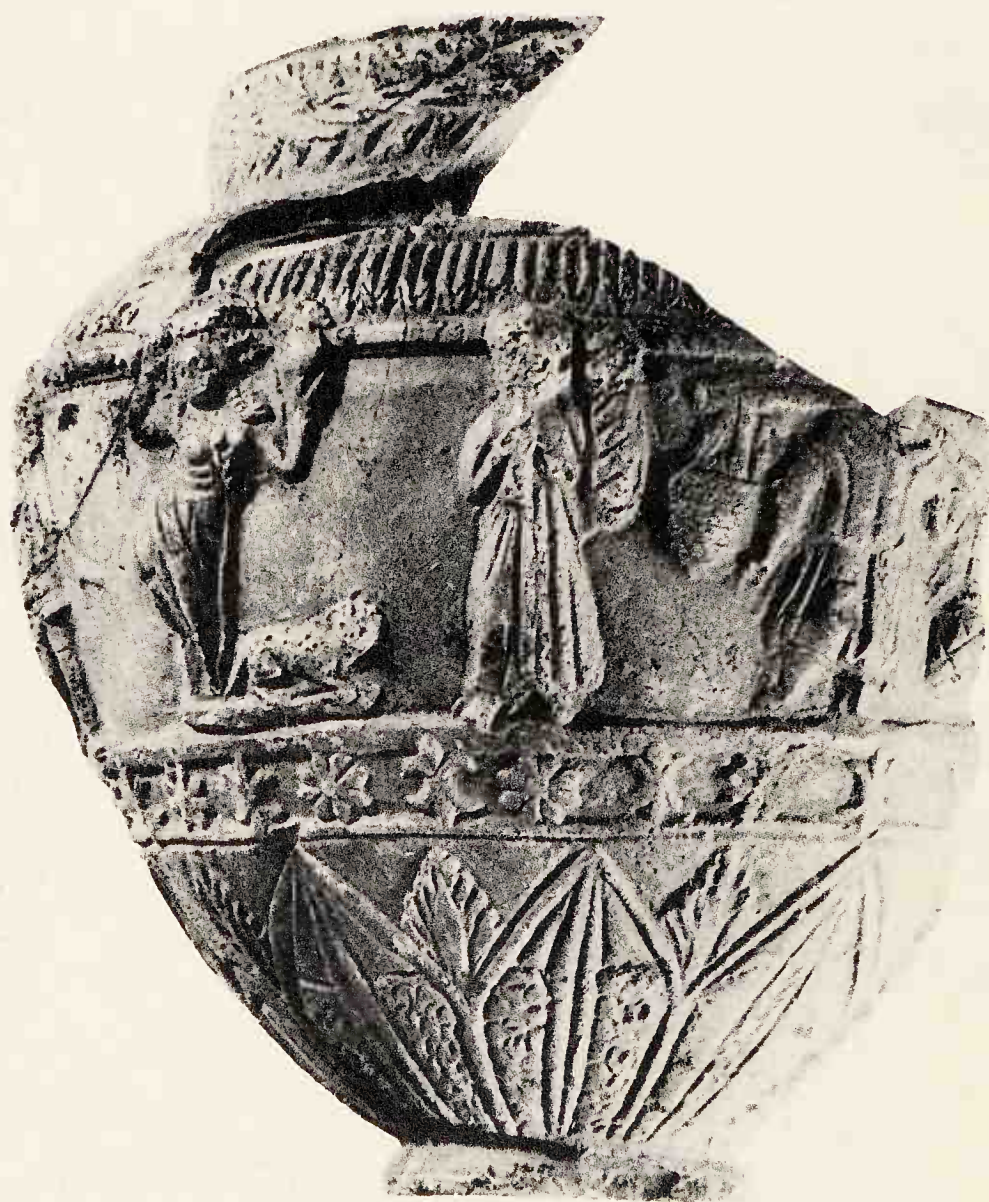


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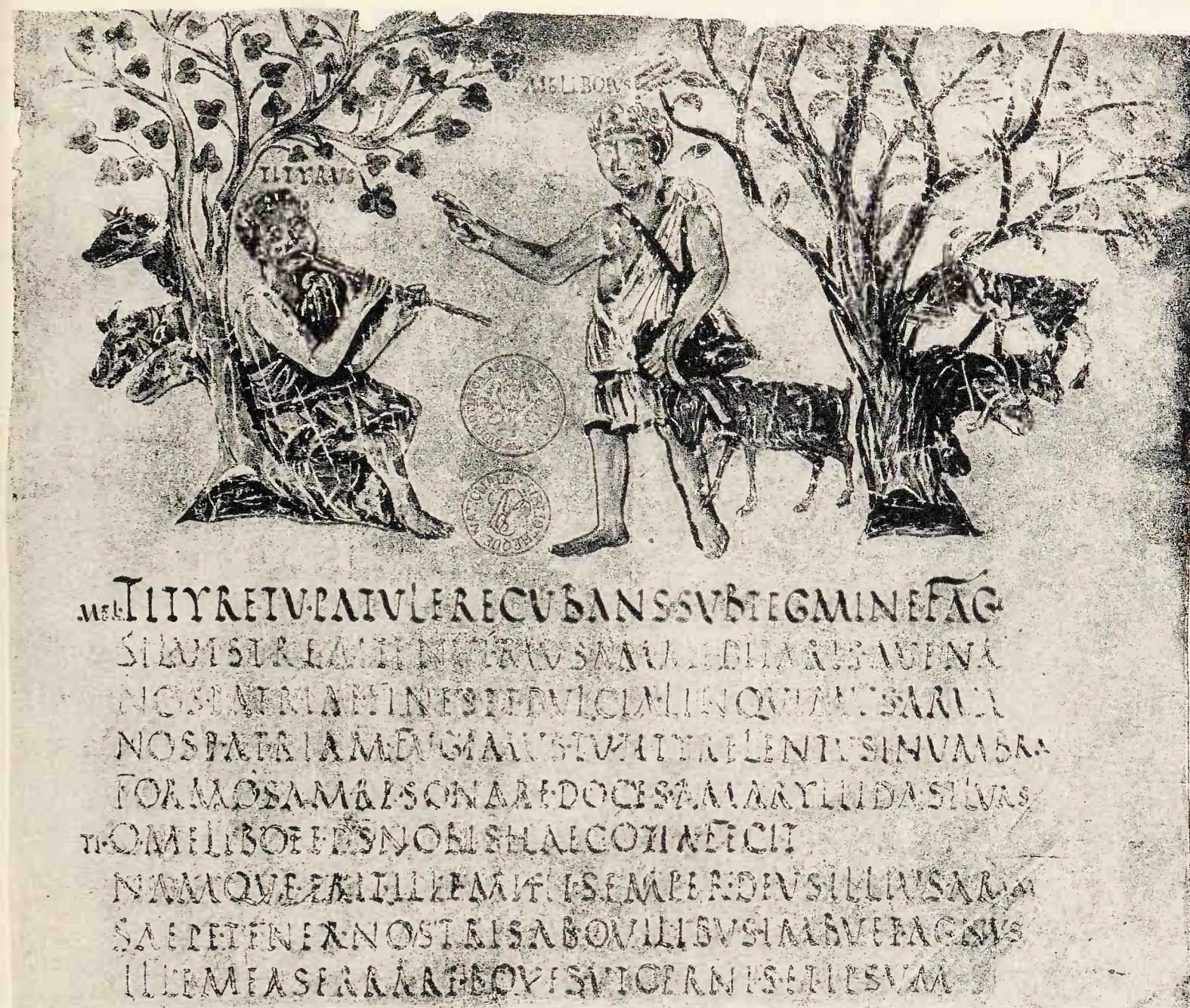


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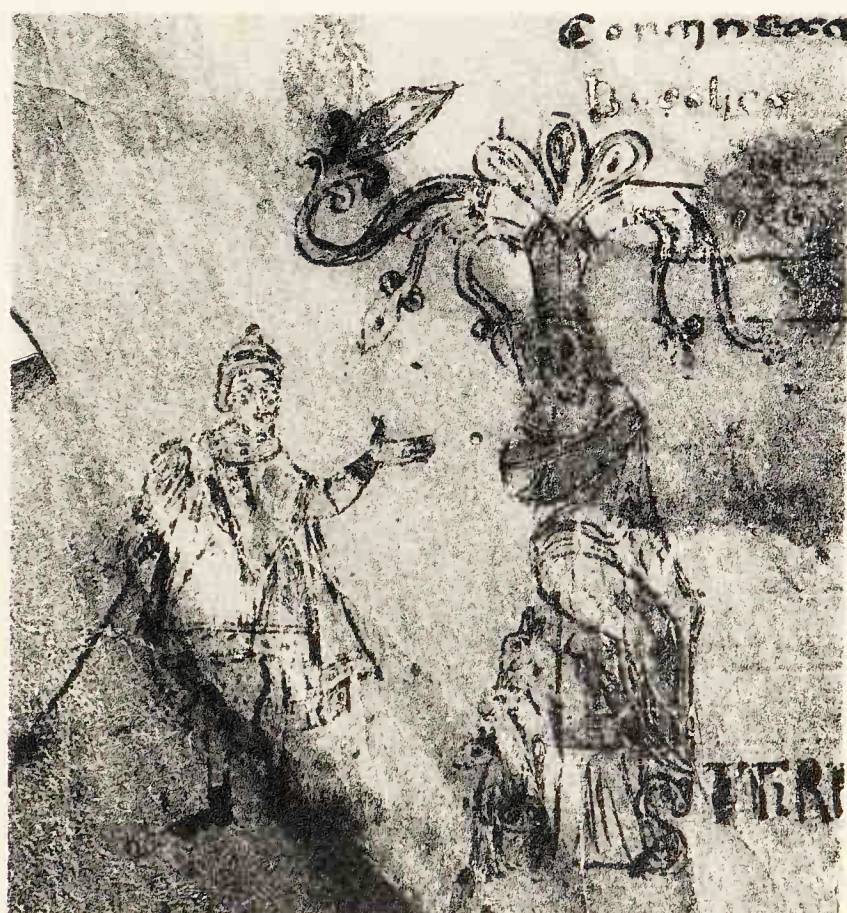


Figure 100. Naples, Bibl. Naz.
Cod. Vienna 58. Fol. 1v.

[illegible]

poete. et aruina. i. trinitate scolastici uocabant.



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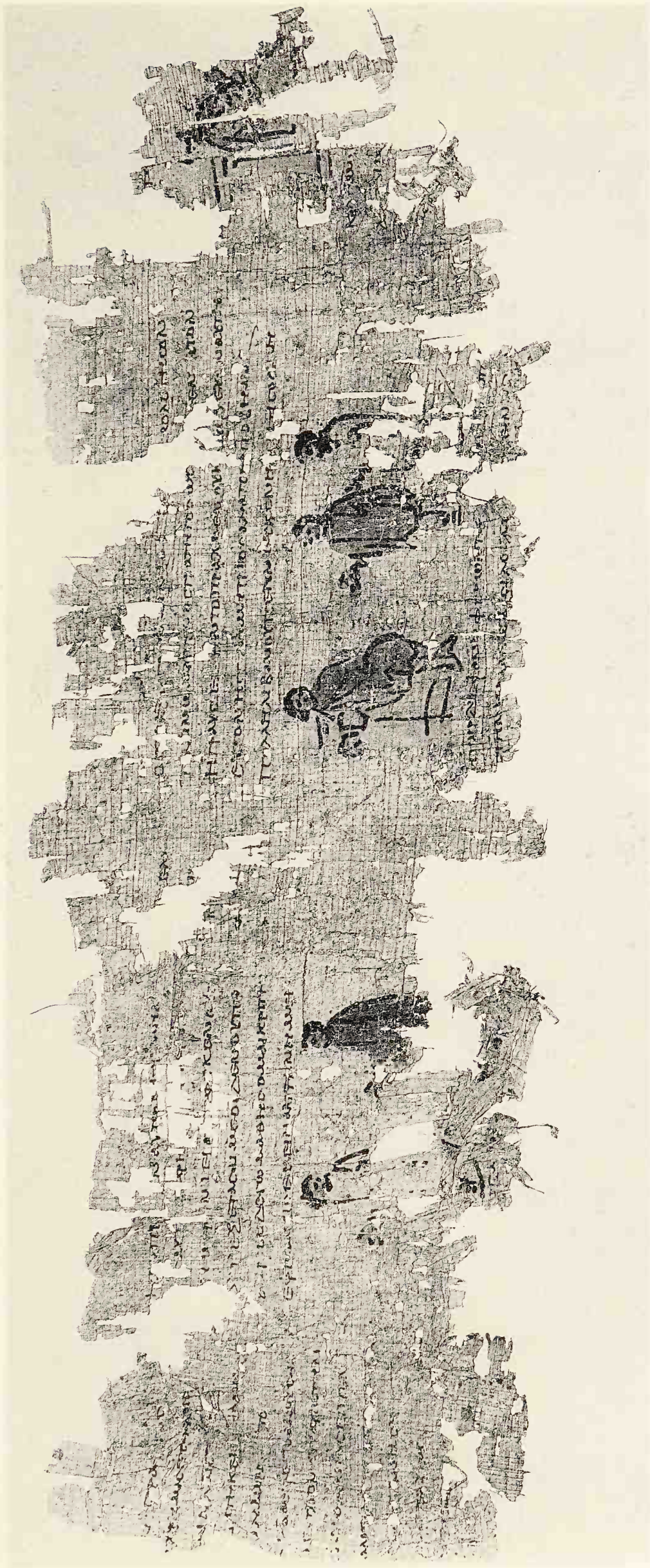


Figure 107. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. suppl. gr. 1294.



Figure 108. Worchester (Mass.) Art Mus. Antioch-Mosaic.

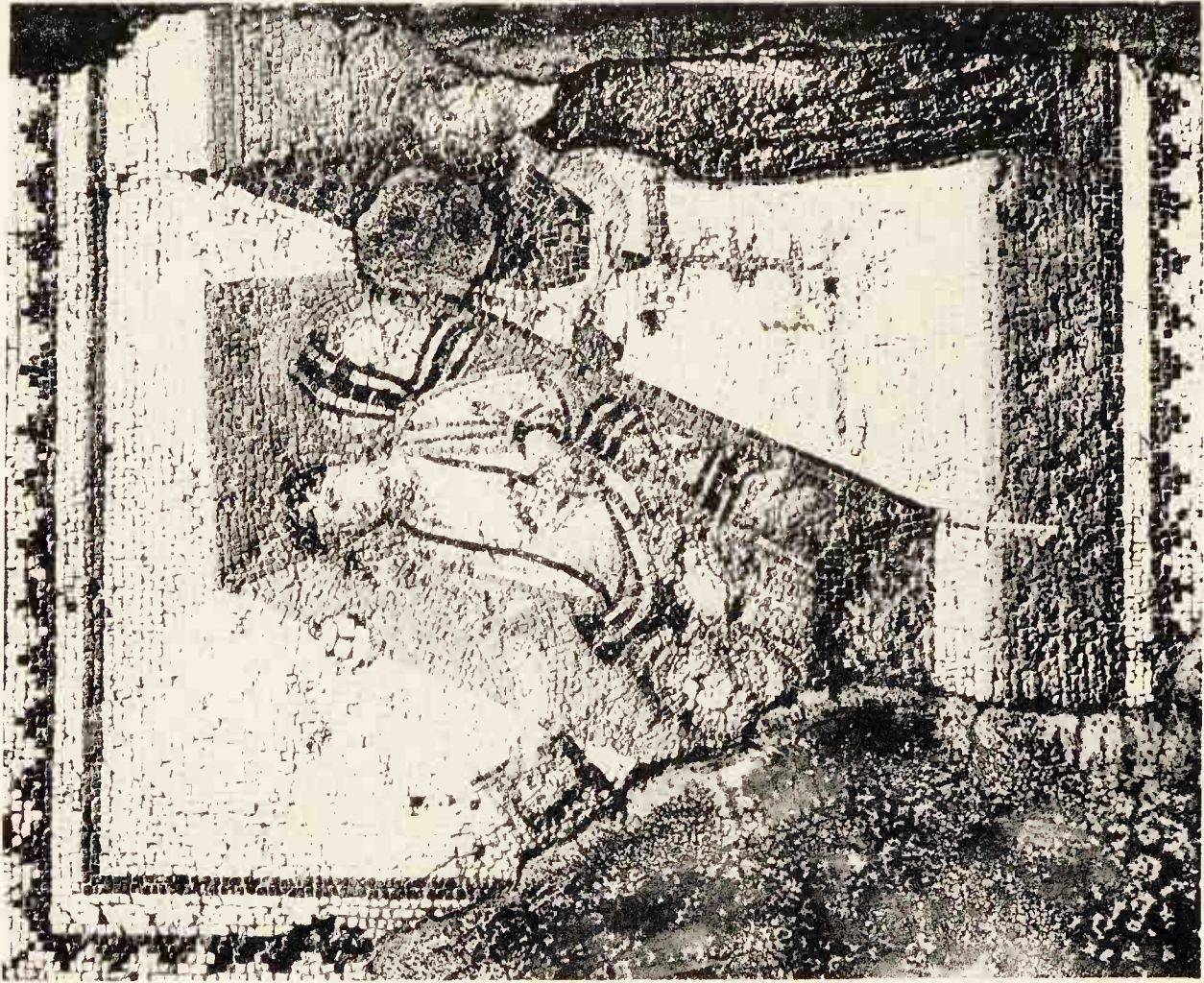


Figure 109. Princeton (N.J.) Art Mus. Antioch-Mosaic.

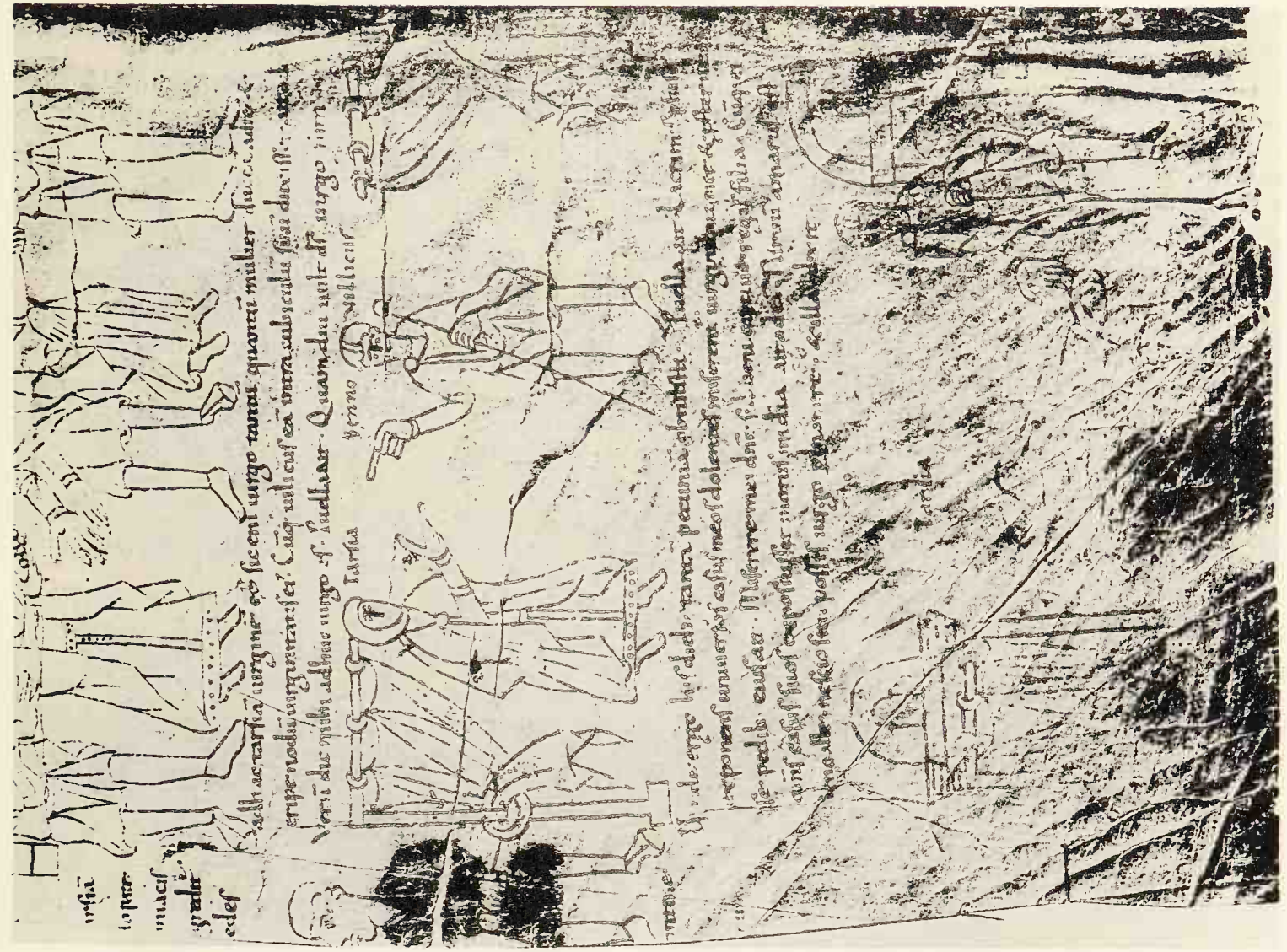


Figure 10a-b. Budapest, Nemzeti Muz. Cod. lat. med. aev. 4.

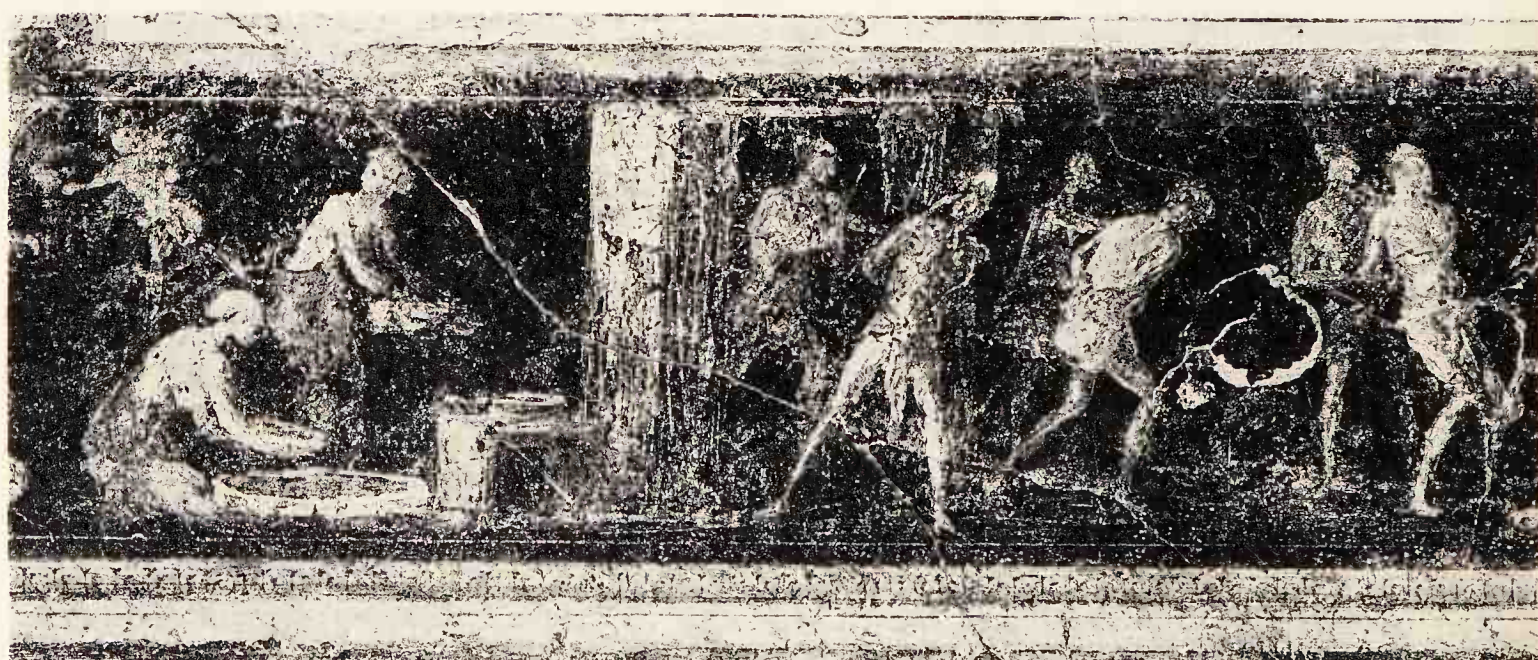
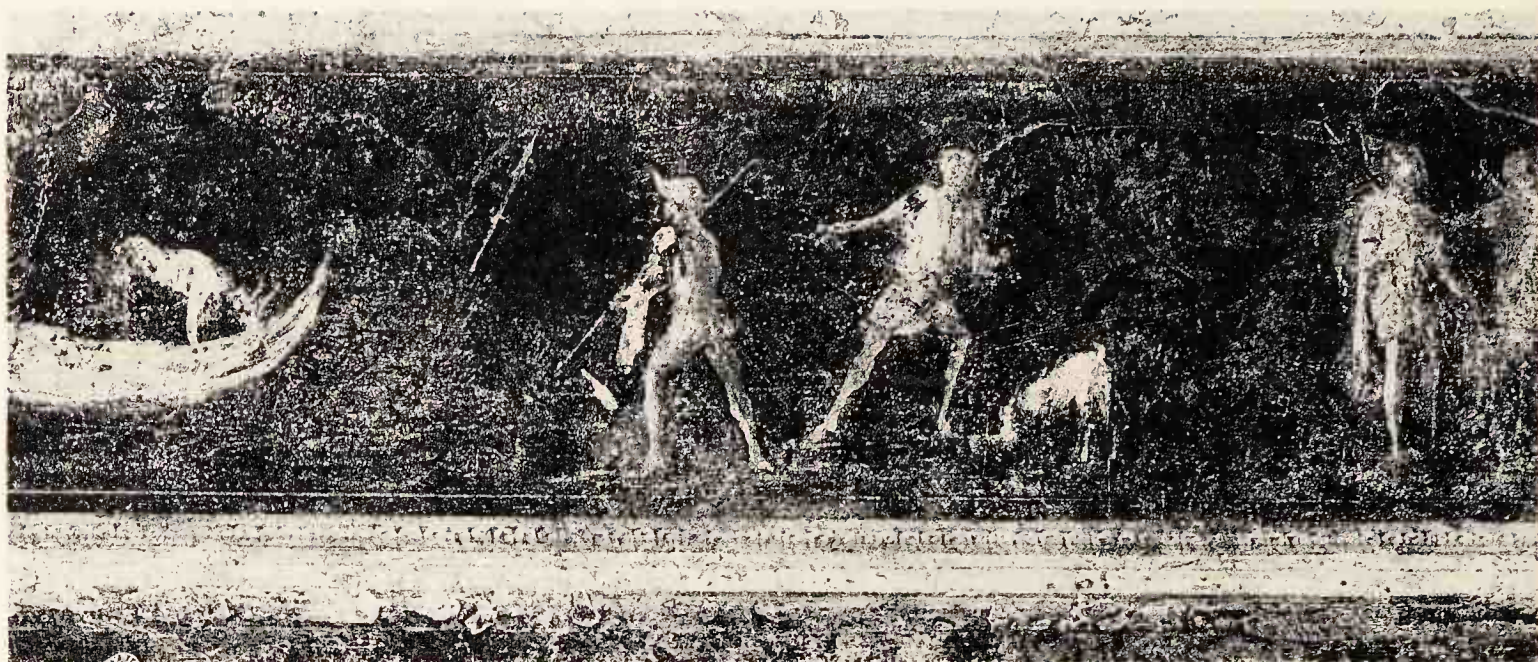
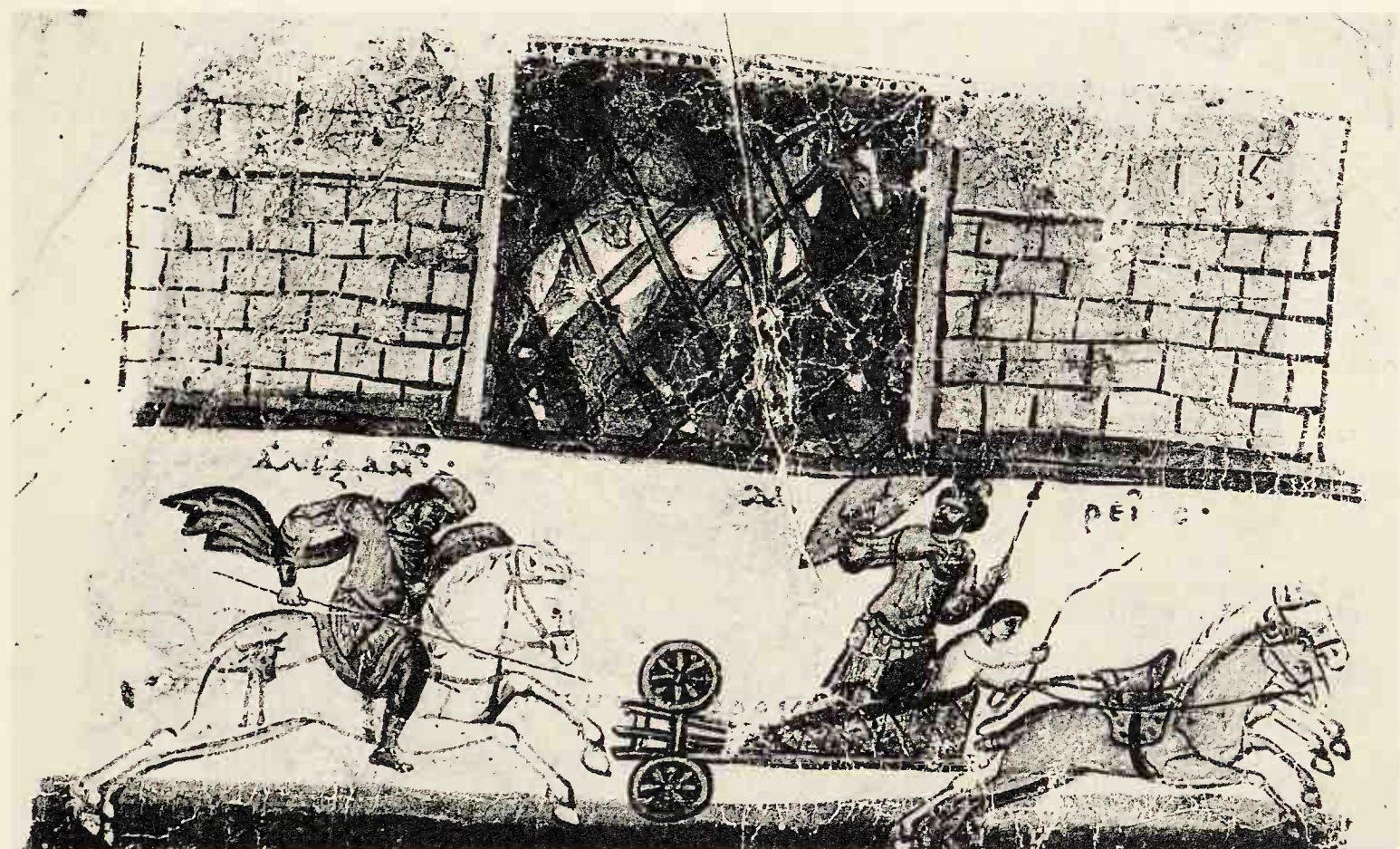


Figure 111a-c. Rome, Mus. Naz. Frescoes of the Villa Farnesina.



Figures 112–113. Venice, Marc. Cod. gr. 479. Fols. 8^r–8^v.



Figure 114. Rome, Mus. Capitol. Iliac Tablet L.



Figure 115. Brooklyn, Mus. Textile.



Figure 116. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. suppl. gr. 247. Fol. 47^v.

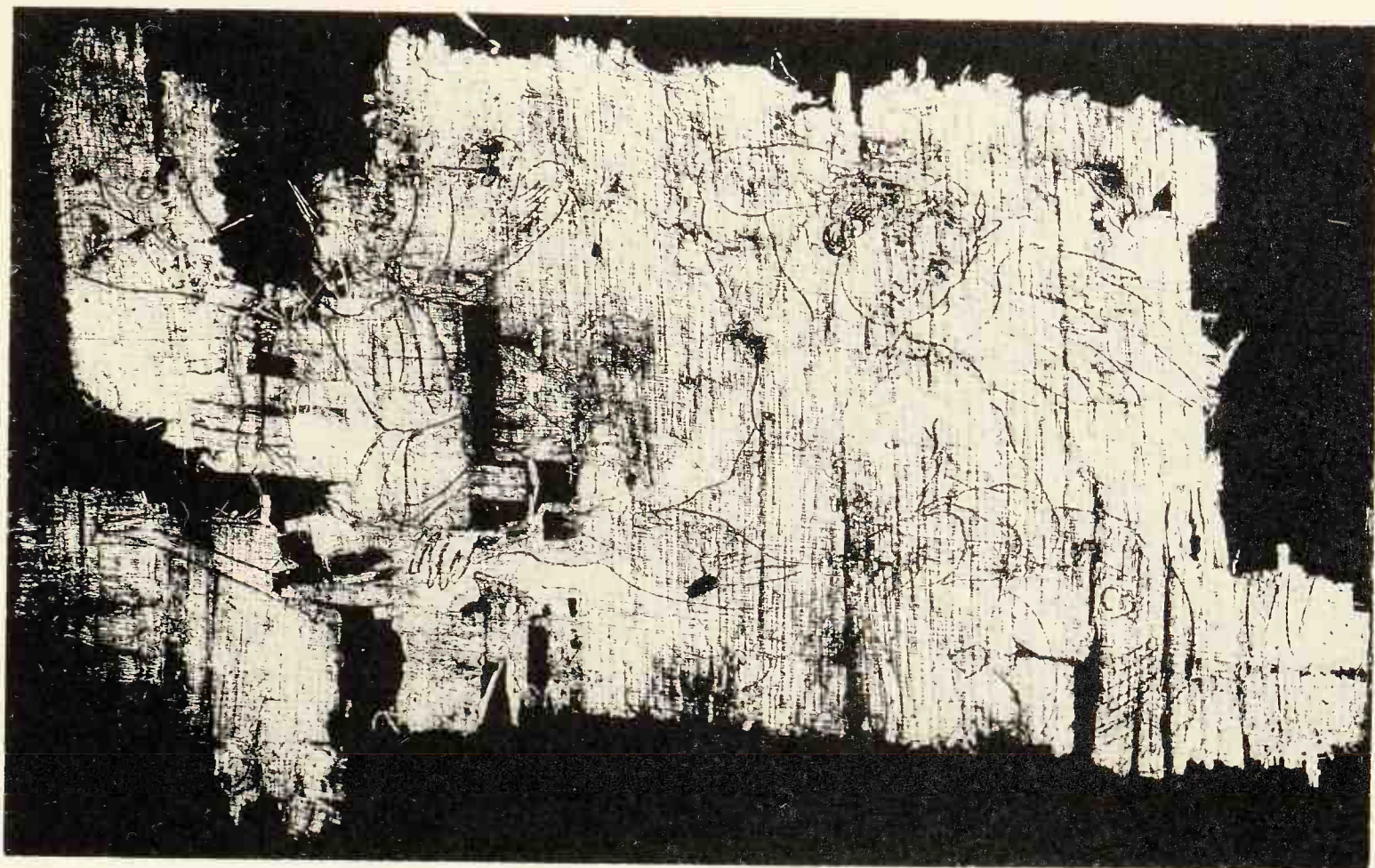


Figure 117. Florence, Mus. Arch. Pap. 919.



Figure 118. Antioch. Mosaic.



Figure 119. London, Brit. Mus. Lamp.



Figure 120. Leiden, Univ. Lib. Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15. Fol. 196v.



Figure 121. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. lat. nouv. acq. 1132. Fol. 36v.

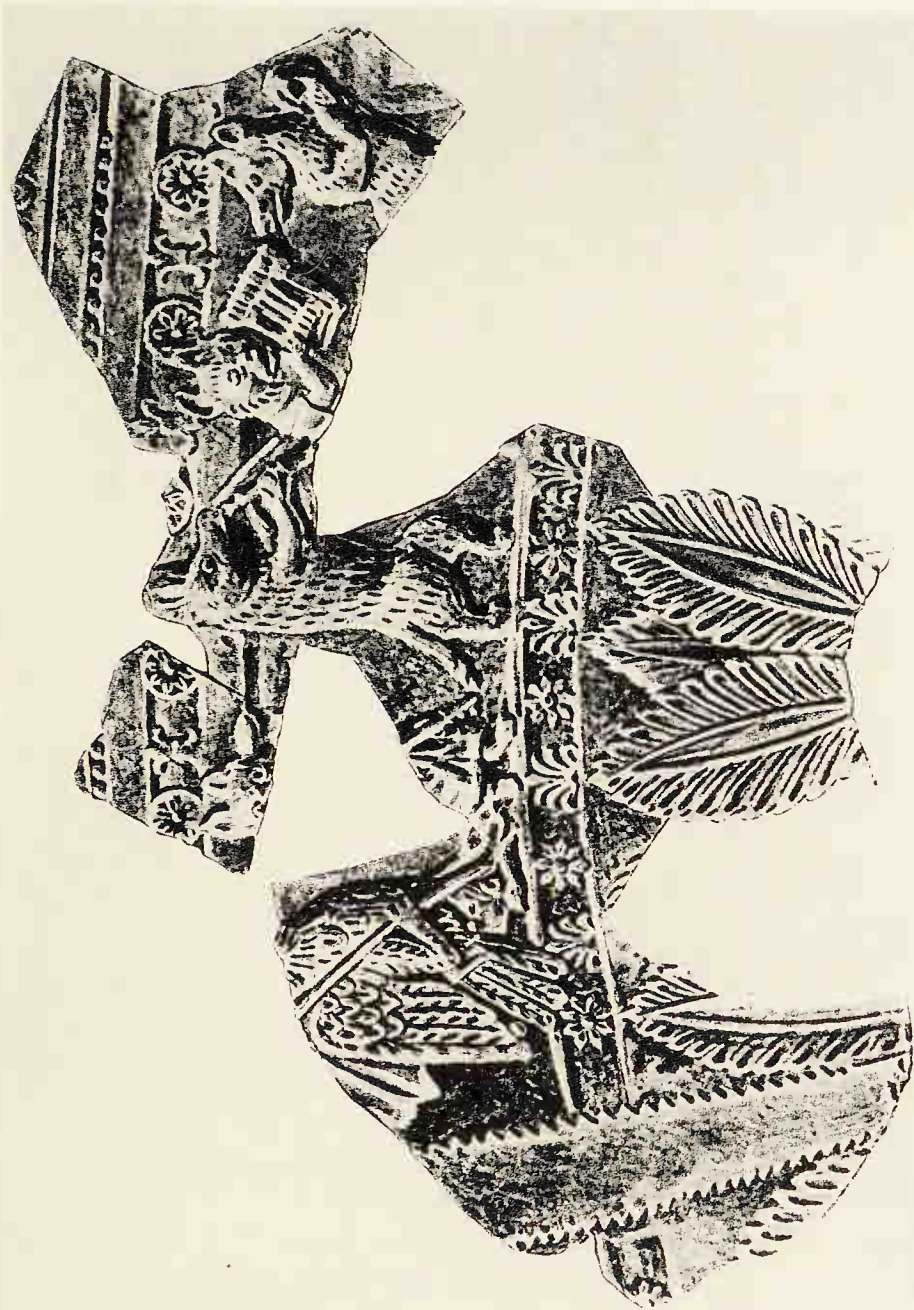


Figure 122. Berlin, Mus. Terracotta Bowl.



Figure 123. London, Brit. Mus. Pap. 10016.



Figure 125. Vatican. Cod. Pal. lat. 1564. Fol. 1^r.

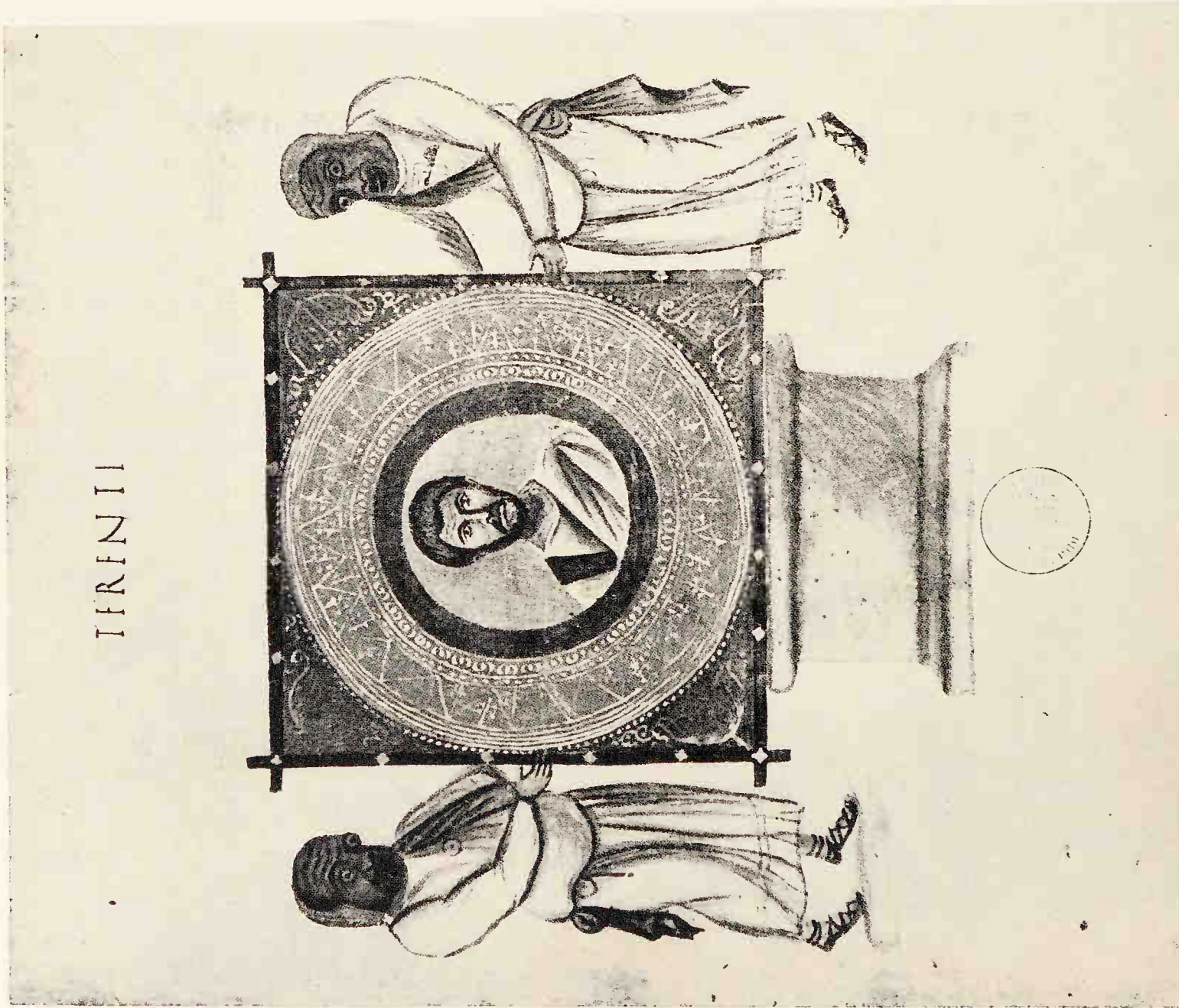


Figure 124. Vatican. Cod. lat. 3868. Fol. 2^r.



Figure 126. Milan, Ambros.
Cod. E. 37 sup. Fol. 82^r.



Figure 127. Paris, Bibl. Nat.
Cod. gr. 923. Fol. 207^v.



Figure 128. Naples, Bibl. Naz.
Cod. Vienna 58. Fol. 44^v.

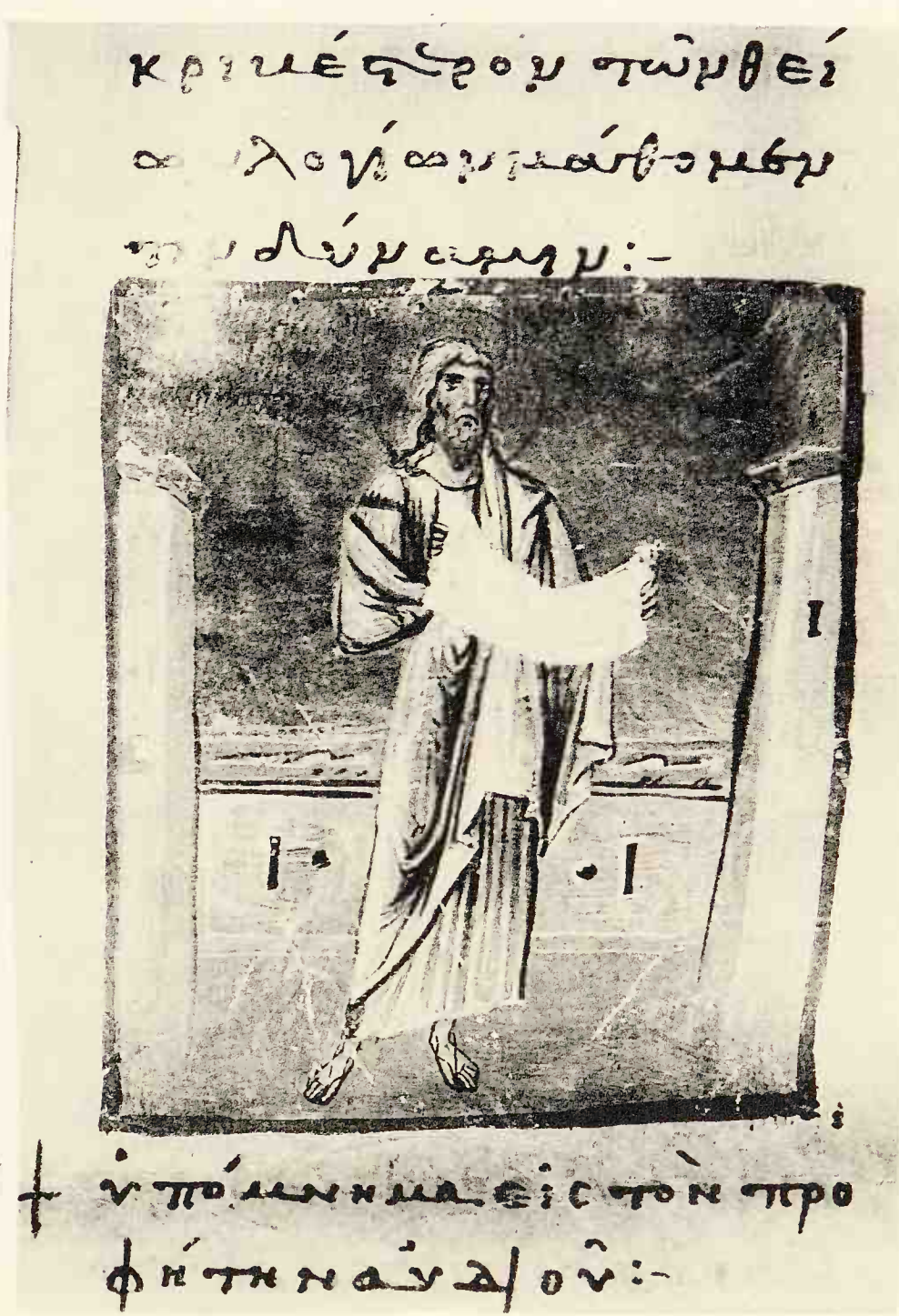


Figure 129. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 1528. Fol. 218^v.

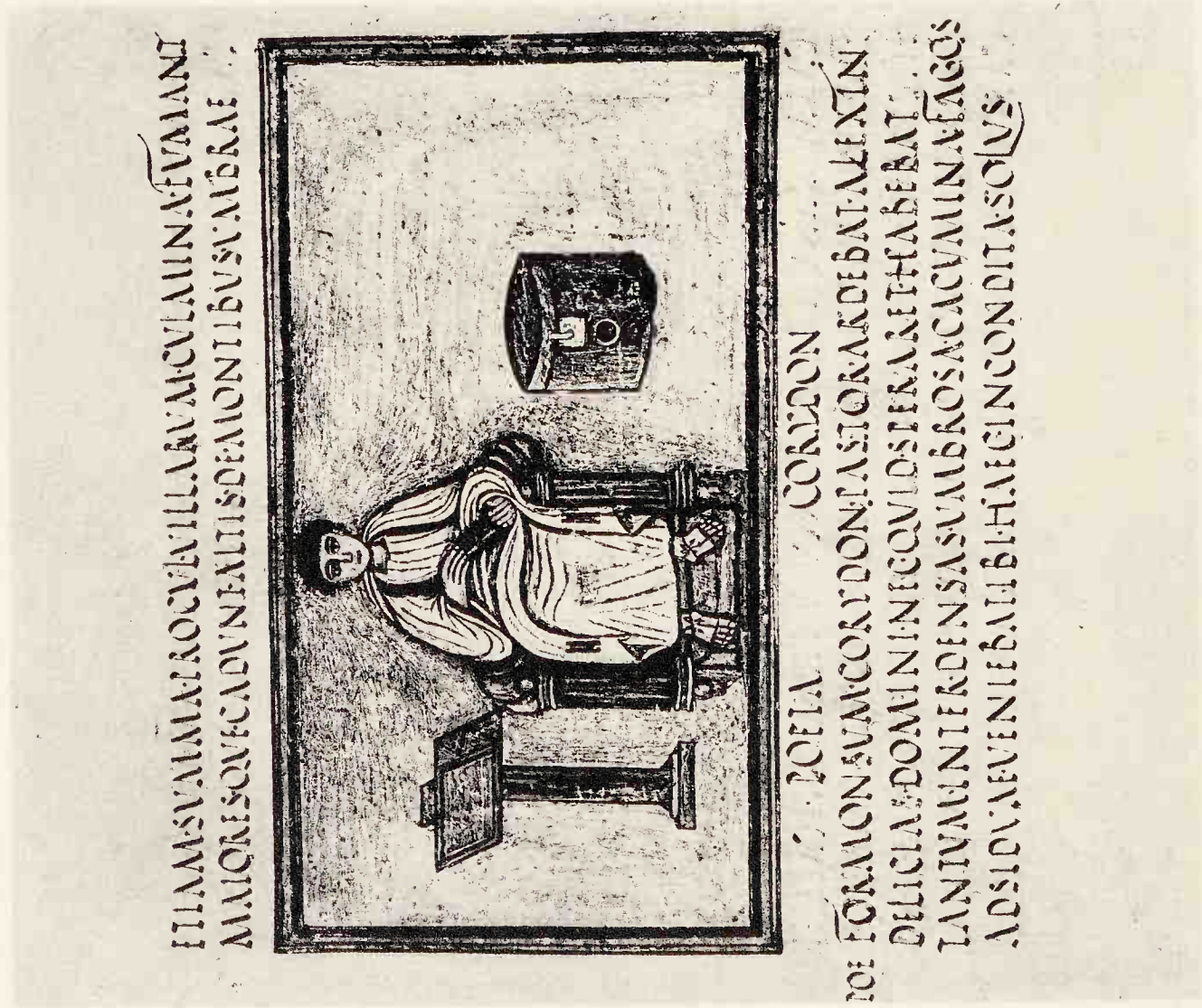


Figure 130. Vatican. Cod. lat. 3867. Fol. 3^v.



Figure 131. Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Cod. med. gr. 1. Fol. 3^v.



Figure 132. Wolfenbüttel. Cod. 36.23. Aug. fol. Fol. 67^v.

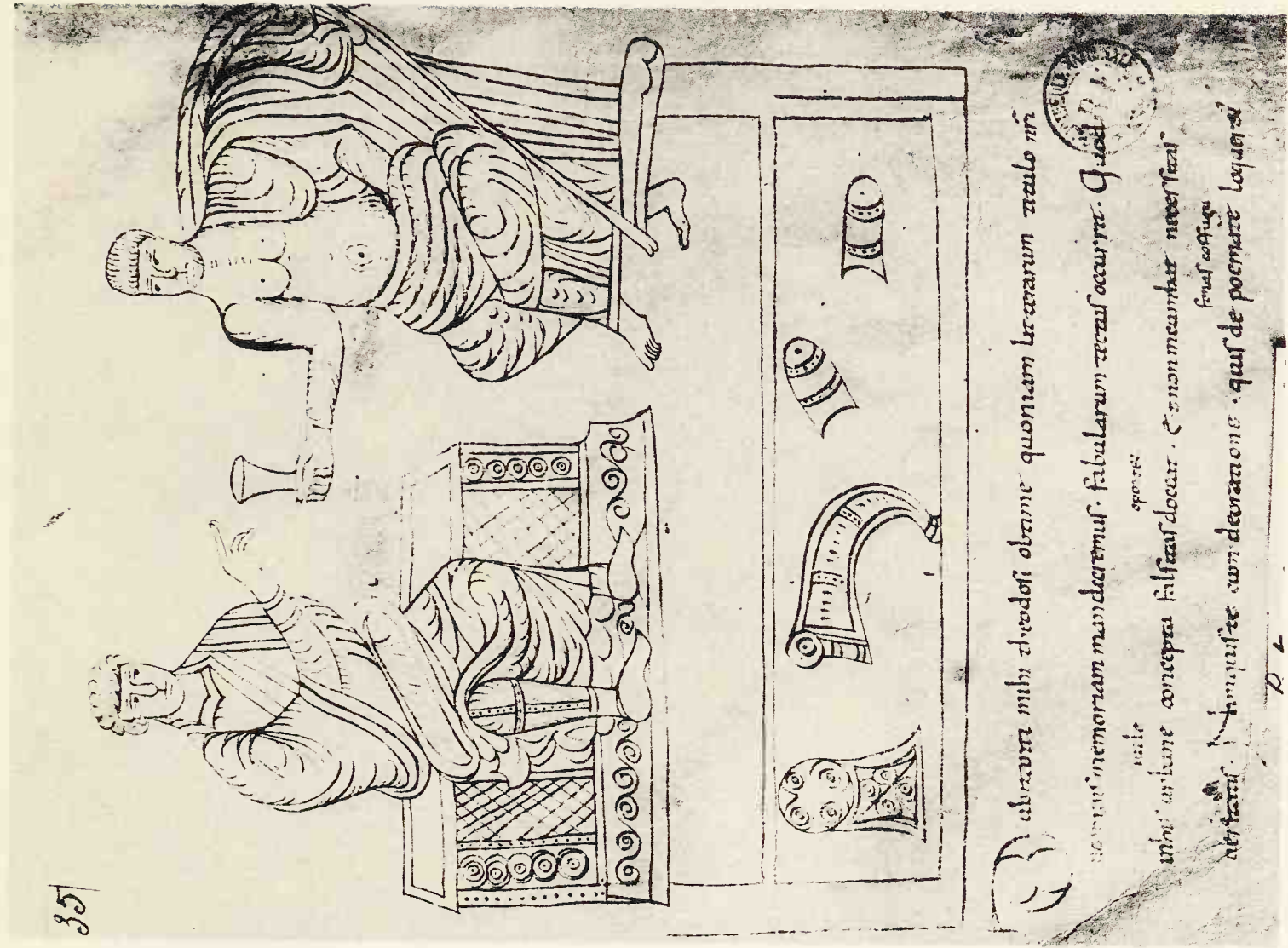


Figure 133. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. lat. nouv. acq. 1132. Fol. 35^r.



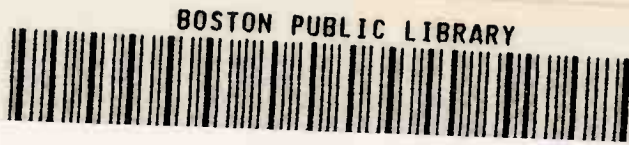
Figure 134. Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Cod. med. gr. 1. Fol. 4^v.



Figure 135. Oxford, Coll. Johnson. Pap.

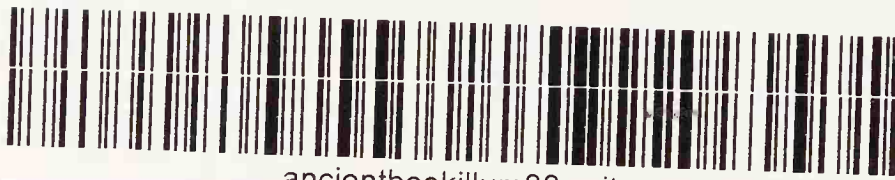


Figure 136. Florence, Ist. Papirol. Pap. 1368.



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